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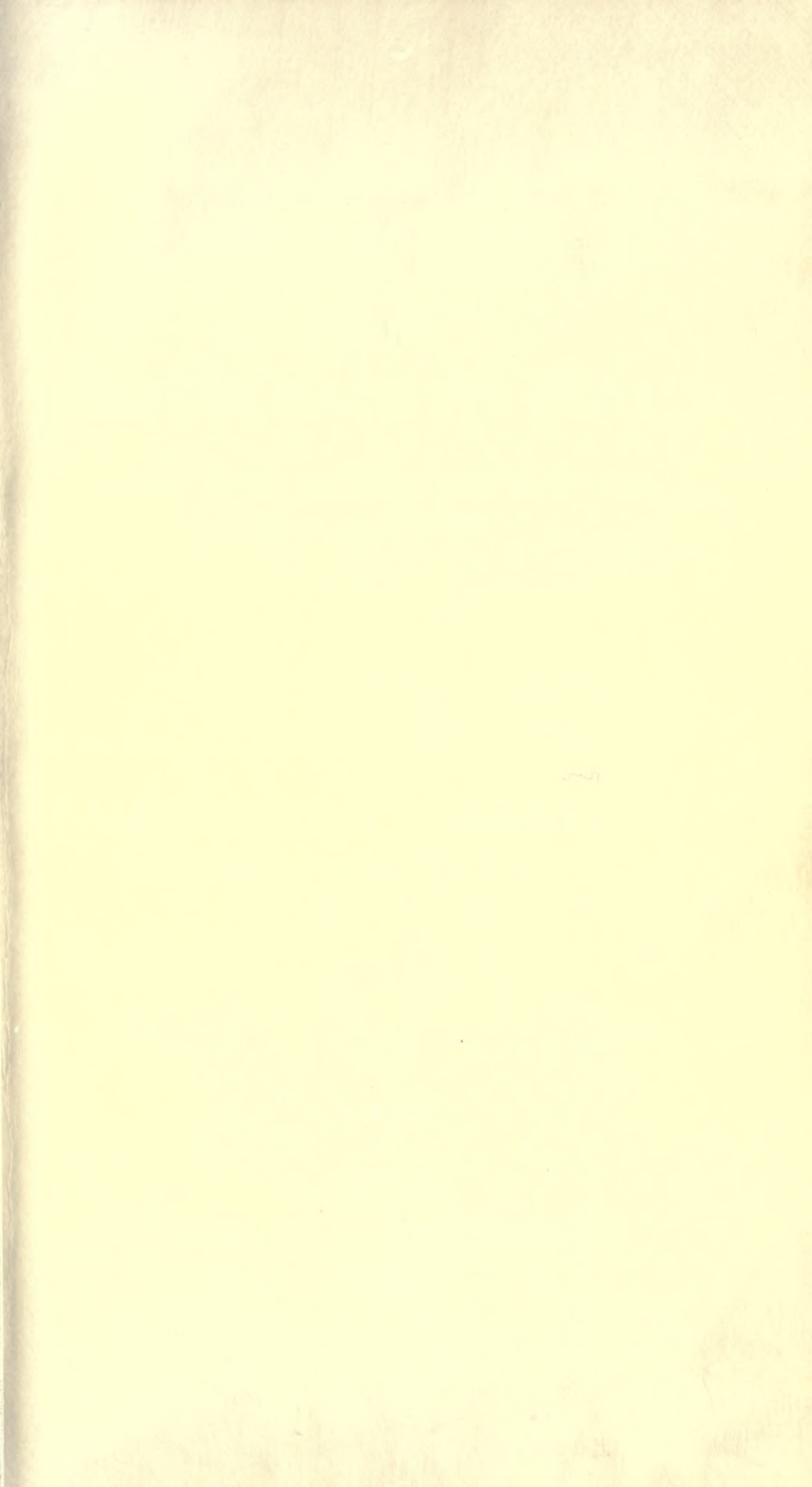
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YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR.

XXXVIII

ENGLISH NATIVITY PLAYS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES,
AND GLOSSARY

BY

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A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale
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PREFACE

There has hitherto been but little intensive and minute study of the English mystery plays. The texts of some of them have been well edited, and their general aspects and problems have been described by such men as Chambers and Gayley, in books which combine, in a delightful manner, deep scholarship and true art; but the field is so large that in general studies there is neither time nor space for the discussion of minor problems. It is indisputable that the work of Chambers and Gayley is more important and significant than the minute study of sources, authorship, and the like; yet the latter, particularly in these plays, has an important place.

The work of the present editor in tracing sources has led to several comparatively important conclusions. Almost invariably, writers on the English mysteries, in scant references, assert that the sources of these plays are to be found in the Vulgate and the Apocryphal Gospels. The reader thus forms a false estimate of the breadth of learning and culture which the writers of these plays possessed. Let him but glance through the notes on the sources of the Chester and Coventry plays in this edition, and he will discover how closely they are related to all the contemporary literature of Europe, profane as well as sacred.

Again, there is the problem of the authorship of the Chester plays. Ranulf Higden has long been suspected of being their author; Chambers has done

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admirable work in arranging and interpreting all of the relevant external evidence, but this evidence will not stand alone. It is a strange thing that no one has cared to take the trouble to compare the Chester plays with the undoubted work of Higden. A few hours spent in such comparison have resulted in the discovery of evidence which leaves little doubt of the authorship. The importance of this proof, together with that of the work on sources, is emphasized in the relation they bear to the larger and more important problem of foreign influence on the Chester plays (see Introduction, pp. xxiv-xxvii).

This arrangement of plays is, I believe, new, and I trust will prove convenient. It tends to emphasize the resemblances and differences between the productions of the four dramatists, and also gives opportunity for comparisons of many kinds. The Introduction contains conclusions drawn from materials to be found in the Notes. I have endeavored to make the Notes as brief and condensed as possible, leaving much to the presupposed knowledge of such a student as would be apt to use the book. The Glossary contains only such words as have not survived in modern English in the same or similar form. I have not included a Bibliography, as the one published by Stoddard in 1888, and the additions to it in *Litbl.* 1888 (3). 117-128, and *Anglia* 11.325 f., are complete up to their respective dates. All subsequent books which have any bearing on these plays are referred to in the Notes.

My thanks are due, and are here gladly expressed, to the following persons: Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University, for his constant interest, suggestions, and advice, as well as for much valuable bibliographical assistance; the late Duke of Devonshire, for per-

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mission to transcribe his manuscript of the Chester Plays; Mrs. J. Arthur Strong, librarian to the Duke of Devonshire, for her courtesy and attention; Rev. H. N. Cunningham, of Watertown, Conn., for letters of introduction, by means of which I procured access to the Devonshire manuscript; Professor John M. Manly, of the University of Chicago, for advice and encouragement; Professor William H. Schofield, of Harvard University, for a reference to Higden; Mr. Clarence W. Mendell, of Yale University, for his interest in my work, and for various suggestions; the officers and staff of the Yale University Library, for their courteous attention to my requests.

S. B. H.



INTRODUCTION

I. THE PLAYS

The plays of this edition are those dealing with the story of the Nativity of Christ—from the Annunciation to the Adoration of the Shepherds—in the four great English mystery cycles, the Chester, the Coventry or Hegge, the York, and the Towneley or Wakefield. I have not included the Coventry *Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors*, the real Coventry mystery, as its text is accessible in the publications of the EETS., and there is little in it that demands annotation or comment. The plays included are: Nos. 6 and 7 of the Chester cycle (designated in this edition as Ch. I and II); Nos. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16 of the Coventry cycle (C. I, II, III, IV, V); Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15 of the York cycle (Y. I, II, III, IV); and Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13 of the Towneley cycle (T. I, II, III, IV). The 14th play of the Coventry cycle, *The Trial of Joseph and Mary*, I have omitted, as it has no parallel in the other cycles, and is more closely related to C. 8, 9, and 10 than to our group, being taken from the apocryphal account of the life of Mary.

This selection of plays is, I think, a rational one, for, as we shall see later, this group forms an independent, organic whole. In its history and development it is quite distinct from the plays which precede and follow it, even the Magi plays having an entirely separate origin and growth.

2. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The Chester plays have survived in five manuscripts. The oldest of these, the Devonshire manuscript (referred to as D), bears the date 1591, and the signature of Edward Gregorie, scholar of Bunbury (fol. 150b). This manuscript is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and is in his library at Chatsworth in Derbyshire (not at Devonshire House, London, as Dr. Furnivall asserts in the EETS. edition of the Chester plays). It was overlooked by Dr. Deimling, the editor of the EETS. edition, and the part including our plays has never before been published. Through the courtesy of the late Duke and of his librarian, Mrs. J. Arthur Strong, I obtained access to the Devonshire manuscript, and have used it as the basis of my text in the present edition.

Three manuscripts of the Chester plays are in the British Museum: Additional 10,305 (W, 1592 A.D.), the basis of Wright's edition, Harleian 2013 (h, 1600 A.D.), and Harleian 2124 (H, 1607 A.D.), the latter the basis of Deimling's text. One manuscript is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford—Bodley 175 (B, 1604 A.D.), written by William Bedford.

The plays of the other cycles exist in unique manuscripts. The manuscript of the Coventry plays is in the British Museum, Cotton Vespasian D.VIII, dated 1468. My text is constructed from photographs of this manuscript.

The manuscript of the York plays, dating from 1430–1440, was until recently in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham; it is now in the British Museum, Additional MS. 35,290. It has had a most interesting history, and is fully described in Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition of the York plays. My text is based on the reprint of the manuscript in Miss Smith's edition.

The Towneley manuscript is in the possession of Major Coates, of Ewell, Surrey. It was written in the second half of the fifteenth century, and was long in the library of Towneley Hall, whence it derived its name. It was then for many years in the possession of Mr. Quaritch, the London bookseller, from whom it has recently passed into the hands of Major Coates. My text is based on the reprint of the manuscript in Mr. George England's edition for the EETS.

3. EDITIONS

THE CHESTER PLAYS.

- 1843-1847.** Complete cycle. *Chester Mysteries*, ed. Thomas Wright, 2 vols., Shakespeare Society. Text 'from the MS. of 1592 [W], with a few corrections from that of 1600 [h].'
- 1853.** The same. Printed as vol. 1 of the *Supplement* to Dodsley's *Old Plays*.
- 1892.** Plays 1-13. *The Chester Plays*, Pt. I., ed. Hermann Deimling, EETS. Ex. Ser. 62. Text from MS. H, with collations of B W h. Pt. II., containing the rest of the cycle, is promised by the EETS.

THE COVENTRY PLAYS.

- 1823.** Plays 11, 12, 13, 15 (C. I, II, III, IV), abridged *Ancient Mysteries*, ed. William Hone.
- 1838.** Play 12 (C. II), abridged. *A Collection of English Mystery Plays*, ed. William Marriott, published at Basel.
- 1841.** Complete cycle. *Coventry Mysteries*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, for the Shakespeare Society.
- 1890.** Play 11 (C. I), abridged. *English Miracle Plays*, ed. A. W. Pollard.

1900. Play 11 (C. I). *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, ed. J. M. Manly.

THE YORK PLAYS.

1885. Complete cycle. *York Mystery Plays*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith.

THE TOWNELEY PLAYS.

1836. Complete cycle. *The Towneley Mysteries*, ed. J. S. Stevenson, for the Surtees Society.
1836. Play 13 (T. IV). *Five Miracle Plays*, ed. J. P. Collier.
1838. Play 13 (T. IV). *A Collection of English Miracle Plays*, ed. William Marriott, Basel.
1890. Plays 13 (T. IV), abridged. *English Miracle Plays*, ed. A. W. Pollard.
1897. Complete cycle. *The Towneley Plays*, ed. G. England, EETS. Ex. Ser. 71.
1900. Play 13 (T. IV). *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, ed. J. M. Manly.

4. THE TEXT OF THE CHESTER PLAYS IN THIS EDITION

Deimling, in his thorough examination of the four manuscripts of the Chester plays which he used—B, W, h, and H—has proved conclusively that the four manuscripts represent two different traditions, B W h forming one group, and H representing the other (see EETS. Ex. Ser. 62, vii–xxix.). H, the youngest of all the manuscripts, he used as the basis of his text, as it furnishes better readings than any of the other three.

The Devonshire manuscript, however, the basis of the text of the present edition, is particularly important as being the oldest of the five manuscripts, as being

representative of Deimling's group, B W h, and as furnishing quite as good readings as the later H.

The evidence in our two plays for the close relation of D to B W h is strong. There are 188 readings in which D agrees with B W h and differs from H; of these, 85 are significant differences, to be considered as direct evidence; the other 103 merely show the general tendency in insignificant readings. Moreover, there are only 28 readings in which D agrees with H and differs from B W h, and of these only 11 are at all significant. I give a list of references to the more significant readings, and for the others refer the reader to the Variants in general. D's relation to B W h is shown in readings in the following lines (cf. Variants): Ch. I. stage-direction after 64 (two readings), 94, stage-direction after 120, 136, stage-direction after 160, 170, stage-directions after 172 and 176, 194, 199, after 230, 238, 243, stage-direction after 283, 305, 317, 385, 394, stage-direction after 431, 444, 450, stage-directions after 467 and 479, 508, 543 and 544, 589, 590, 591, 641 a, II. 5, 6, 22, 31, stage-directions after 40 and 44, 48, 54, before 57, 57 and subsequent headings, 71, 78, 95, 101, 104, 114, after 124, 131, 133, 135, after 136, 144, 170, 171, 175, 185, 187, after 191, 232, 238, 248, 253, 262, 265, after 265, 274, 276, 282, 298, 301, 303, 304-305, 313, 318-319, 322, 342, 348, 384-388, 403, 404, 408, 413, 415, 425, 456, 480, 503, 511, 552-553, 555, 562, 578, 584, 589, 656, 677, 685, 691. The evidence against this relation is found in Ch. I. 25, 127, 244, 571, 678, II. 11, after 164, 195, 347, 403, 471.

In 56 places D offers better readings than any other manuscript; in 34 places D's readings are poor. Comparing this record with that of H, we find that in only 19 places does H offer better readings than any other manuscript, and that in 58 places its readings are poor.

D's superior readings are in the following lines: I. 26, 30, 42, after 48, 71, 102, 135, 146, 207, 229, 331, 341, 346, 354, 393, 464, 502, 514, 545, 550, 588, 629, 701, II. 72, 78, 120, 145, 146, 155, 159, 184, 185, 194, 195, 197, 224, 226, 231, 240, 244, 265, 267, 285, 319, 390, 399, 513, 518, 536, 539, 546, 550, 647, 652, 654. D's inferior readings are in the following lines: I. 19, 32, 51, 103, 203, 236, 339, 341, 346, 367 abcd, 383, 401, after 550, 601, 611, 621, 691, II. 18, 23, 56, 58 (?), 84, 87, 91, 122, 142, 217, 249, 254, 360, 368, 476, 519, 569. H affords the best readings in the following lines: I. 508, 619, 694, II. 22, 54 (?), 123, after 124, 130, 168, 170, 171, after 175, after 191, 221, 233, 286, 352, 505, 668. H's poor readings are in the following lines: I. 93, 94, 194, 238, 305, 317, 394, 444, 450, 464, 590, 591, 648, II. 5, 6, 31, 48, 78, 95, 114, 131, 136, 145, 150, 157, 166, 199, 207, 211, 232, 238, 253, 265, 270, 282, 294, 295, 298, 301, 313, 348, 403, 415, 425, 454, 463, 562, 572, 578, 584, 589, omission of 597-640, 677, omission of 680, 681, 685, 687, 691.

The scribe of H evidently tried to improve his text by emendation and correction (cf. I. 647-650), by inserting the sources of the narrative from the Vulgate (I. 1 ff.), by adding Latin stage-directions, and by leaving blanks where the stanzaic form seemed imperfect. Sometimes he was successful, but more often he gave the author credit for too much care. In Ch. II. 165-197 he noticeably improves the rime, but succeeds at the same time in destroying the sense and general character of the boy's speech.

D, we have seen, is representative of a group of manuscripts earlier than H, and moreover is as much superior to H as H is superior to the other manuscripts of the earlier group; it is less elaborated than H, and seems to give a version closer to the original plays.

5. THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIVITY PLAYS

Of all the great feast-days of the Christian year, two stand supreme, Easter and Christmas; in the Church services for these two days lies the origin of the modern drama. Easter is a day of spiritual and mystical significance only, Christmas a day full of vital human interest; and the simplicity and realism of the Christmas story make it far more adaptable to dramatic purposes. And so, although Easter, in the Church service and in the *liturgical* drama springing from it, holds first place, the Christmas service and Christmas liturgy have resulted in a higher form of drama, and in one which has had much wider influence.

The ultimate source of the drama is in symbolism. The central point of the Christmas play is the manger, or *præsepe*, erected in the churches at Christmas time. We know little of the early history of the Chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem, but we do know that it existed in the fourth century, and any service held there at Christmas time must inevitably have been dramatic to some degree. In the eighth century, however, we find in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, in Rome, direct evidence of the dramatic nature of the Christmas service. Two boards from the 'true manger' at Bethlehem had been brought to Rome and incorporated in the manger of this church, and on Christmas day the Pope celebrated mass at Santa Maria, using the manger as an altar. There is no record of any dramatic ritual used at this service, but in the setting of the service, and in the presence of the manger, we find the direct ancestor of the liturgical drama; and in so far as this act of worship is an ancestor of the

drama, the Christmas play may claim precedence over the Easter play.

The earliest extant ancestor of the spoken drama is, however, in the Easter service. In the ninth century great elaboration and amplification of the liturgy took place, and it is through the change in Church music that the liturgical drama arose. The Gregorian chants had lost favor because of their simplicity, and hence many new melodies were inserted in them, sung at first not to words, but to vowel-sounds. Soon texts to these melodies, called tropes, began to be written. There is a ninth-century Christmas trope which for some reason did not survive, but in this same ninth-century manuscript we find the parent of the liturgical drama in the famous Easter trope, 'Quem quæritis in sepulchro, O Christicolæ?' A Christmas trope was modeled upon this Easter one, when first we do not know; the earliest one extant is in an eleventh-century manuscript of St. Gall, which I quote in full:

In Natale Domini ad Missam sint parati duo diaconi, induti dalmaticis, retro altare dicentes :

Quem quæritis in præsepe, pastores, dicite ?

Respondeant duo cantores in choro :

Salvatorem Christum Dominum, infantem pannis involutum, secundum sermonem angelicum.

Item diaconi :

Adest hic parvulus cum Maria, matre sua, de qua vaticinando Isaias Propheta : ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium. Et nuntiantes dicite quia natus est.

Tunc cantor dicat excelsa voce :

Alleluia, Alleluia, iam vero scimus Christum natum in terris, de quo canite omnes cum propheta dicentes :

Puer natus est &c. [*then follows the Introit.*]

Two points should be noted in regard to this play : first, the original Christmas play is a Shepherds' Play ; second, the prophecy of Isaiah is retained from the account of the birth of Christ in Matt. 1. 23.

The next step in the development of the Christmas play is well illustrated by this liturgical drama of the thirteenth century (printed in Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, pp. 235 ff.):

In sancta nocte nativitatis Domini, post Te Deum, Angelus assistet, annunciet Christum natum esse et hoc dicat:

Nolite timere, ecce enim evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum quod erit omni populo; quia natus est vobis hodie Salvator mundi in civitate David. Et hoc vobis signum, invenietis infantem pannis involutum et positum in presepio.

Hoc audientes septem pueri, stantes in alto loco, dicant:

Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

*Audientes Pastores cant versus presepe, cantantes hoc respon-
sorium.*

Pax in terra nunciatur,
in excelsis gloria!
Terra federatur
mediante gracia.

Mediator homo Deus
descendit in propria,
ut ascendat homo reus
ad admissa gaudia.

Eya! Eya!

Transeamus, videamus
verbum hoc quod factum est;
transeamus ut sciamus
quod nunciatum est.

Versus:

In Judea Puer vagit,
Puer Salus populi,
quo bellandum se presagit
vetus hospes sæculi.

Accedamus, accedamus
ad presepe Domini,
et dicamus
Laus fecundæ virgini.

Tunc Pastores gradientur per chorum, in manibus baculos portantes, et cantantes, usque ad Christi presepe:

Transeamus usque Bethleem, et videamus hoc verbum quod factum est, quod fecit Dominus et ostendit nobis.

Illis venientibus, duo clerici in presepe cantent :

Quem quæritis in presepe, pastores, dicite?

Pastores respondeant :

Salvatorem Christum Dominum infantem, pannis involutum, secundum sermonem angelicum.

Item obstetrices cortinam aperientes Puerum demonstrent, dicentes versus :

Adest hic parvulus cum Maria matre sua, de quo vaticinando Ysayas dixerat Propheta.

Ostendant matrem pueri dicentes :

Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium; et euntes dicite quia natus est.

Tunc salutent pastores Virginem, ita dicentes :

Salve, virgo singularis,
Virgo manens Deum paris
ante secula generatum
corde patris;
adoremus nunc creatum
carne matris.

Versus :

Nos, Maria, tua prece
a peccatis purga fece
nostri cursum incolatus;
sic dispone
ut det sua frui natus
visione.

Tunc viso Puero, Pastores adorent eum, deinde vertant se ad chorum, dicentes :

Alleluia ! Alleluia ! Jam vere scimus Christum natum in terris, de quo canite omnes cum prophetis, dicentes :

Postea statim incipiatur Missa, et Pastores regant chorum et cantent Gloria in excelsis Deo, et Epistola et Tropa. Et unus Pastorum legat lectionem : Populus gentium, Subdiaconus tunica indutus legat epistolam, nullo gradale intercepto. Duo Pastores cantent in pulpito gradale : Tecum principium. Duo de majore sede cantent in pulpito : Alleluia, Dominus dixit. Finita Missa, Sacerdos qui missam cantaverit vertat se ad Pastores et dicat hanc antiphonam usque ad Natum.

This play emphasizes most clearly the close connection of the liturgical play with the Church service, even after the play has gone beyond the mere stage of dialogue, and has become amplified and elaborated.

It is not yet a thing apart, arbitrarily inserted in the service, but remains an integral part of the ritual.

Many significant changes in the Christmas play occurred in the interval between the two plays that I have quoted; elements were introduced which have not only themselves remained in the vernacular plays, but which have also to a high degree directed the course of their development. Chief among these additions is the appearance of the midwives,¹ who were doubtless borrowed from the Apocryphal Gospel to take the place of the Maries in the Easter plays, and to give variety to the music by the introduction of boys' voices. But although no other element of the Apocryphal narrative appears in the liturgical play, the basis of most of the English Christmas plays, and of practically all the continental vernacular plays, is not the Scriptural but the Apocryphal narrative. The York *Nativity Play* proper (Y. III) is an exception, but in the other York Christmas plays the Apocrypha is used (cf. Y. II). There are two reasons for the adoption of the Apocryphal version: first, the Apocryphal account contains many more incidents and details which can be adapted for dramatic purposes; and, secondly (and perhaps chiefly), given the midwife element in the liturgical drama, the natural development will be along the line of the version which includes that.

Other important additions are the shepherds' journey to Bethlehem, their song on the way, and their salutation-lyrics, all of which appear in the English plays, and the last two of which do not appear in the Scriptural or Apocryphal accounts. Notice also the retention of Isaiah's prophecy, but the omission of the

¹ The midwives first appear in the tenth-century Freising Christmas play. See Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 64.

command to 'make known abroad concerning the child' taken from Luke 2. 17, and included in the English plays (Ch. II. 654 ff., T. III. 491, 495, IV. 744).

It must be remembered that the liturgical plays which I have quoted are in no way to be regarded as sources of the English mysteries, but merely as suggestive of what these sources must have been. There are extant no Christmas liturgical dramas which were used in the English cathedrals, all having been destroyed with the destruction of the monasteries under Henry VIII; but there are records at Lincoln, York, Salisbury, and Lichfield, of liturgical plays having been given, and our only method of discovering what their nature must have been is to study the general type of Continental plays. Those quoted seem to be representative of the early and late forms respectively.

So far we have been tracing the course of the main current of the Christmas plays; it is now time to consider some of the tributaries. Of these the chief in its effect, the pseudo-Augustinian prophet-sermon, originated some three centuries before our first extant *Officium Pastorum*; and although it probably took dramatic form before the *Pastores*, the great popularity and superior appropriateness of the latter soon relegated the prophet-play to a secondary place. The origin and history of this sermon-play I have discussed in the notes to Y. I. 1-144 and 1-132; let me here again call attention to the significant combination of the prophet-element and the shepherd-element, resulting, in the English plays, in the use of the prophet-play as a transition from the Old Testament to the Christmas plays, and also in the inclusion of prophecies in the *Shepherds' Plays* proper.

After the dramatisation of the story of the Birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Shepherds, the next

step was a natural and simple one, a dramatization of the events leading up to them, the Annunciation and Visitation. The only extant liturgical drama on these subjects includes both; it is from *Processional C, Archives of the Chapter of Cividale*, a fifteenth-century manuscript, printed in Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques*. The Annunciation follows the Scriptural account *verbatim*; there is no interval between the Annunciation and the Visitation, but Elizabeth begins her salutation with a rimed couplet, the only original part of the play. She salutes Mary as follows:

Salve chara, Deo grata,
Te saluto, sis beata.

She then proceeds with the *Benedicta tu in mulieribus*, and Mary replies with the *Magnificat*, which the scribe did not trouble to write out after the first two lines (cf. Y. I. 240). After the play is the direction 'Hoc completo Corarii intonent *Te Deum*.' From the records of Lincoln Cathedral we know that there the liturgical play of the Annunciation was given at Christmas time, instead of at the Feast of the Immaculate Conception on March 25; it therefore at an early date became part of the group of Christmas plays.

There is practically nothing in this drama which is at all significant in relation to the English plays; the version in Luke, the version in the liturgical play, and the version in the English plays, are practically identical. There is, however, in the English plays some evidence that liturgical dramas were the sources of the Annunciation and Visitation plays; for instance, in Ch. I. 1-4 Gabriel's salutation is not the *Ave Maria* from Luke, but the Church canticle *Ave Maria*, composed from the salutations of Gabriel and Elizabeth as recorded in Luke. Again, in Ch. I. 69-112 and C. III. 81-126 we find the Church canticle, *Magnificat*, with the *Gloria Patri*

at the end, a singular anachronism, to be explained only on the supposition that the author was careless in copying part of the Church liturgy. The fact that the only surviving liturgical drama does not contain these two errors is, of course, not at all significant, for it seems likely that the normal liturgical drama would follow the Church liturgy more closely than the Scripture. Owing to the nature of the case, and the impossibility of much variation in this narrative, such evidence as I have quoted seems quite significant. It also seems significant that with the exception of the Coventry plays, written by a very erudite man, none of the liturgical or vernacular plays include any of the details given in the Apocryphal gospels of the circumstances attending the Annunciation—the daily appearance of angels to Mary, her going to the well with her water-pot, etc. We have seen in the *Shepherds' Play* that the adoption of the Apocryphal version was largely due to the appearance of the midwives in the liturgical drama; it seems quite as probable that the absence of Apocryphal details in the Annunciation play is due to their absence in the liturgical play, where there was no such need of them as there was of the midwives in the *Pastores*.

We have now gone about as far as possible in tracing the relation of the vernacular to the liturgical play. It would be satisfactory, for the sake of completeness, if we could find any direct evidence to prove that there were liturgical plays on the subject of Joseph's trouble, which were the originals of the vernacular Joseph plays. For the possible relation of these plays to certain dialogues in the works of the Church Fathers, see note to C. II. 25 ff. Since all these dialogues are in sermons preached at the Feast

of the Annunciation, it is possible that they did develop into liturgical dramas in the same way that the pseudo-Augustinian sermon on the prophets did. Of such dramas, however, there is no record, and, until some record is found, we must admit that it is quite as probable that these vernacular plays are merely expansions of the verses on Joseph's trouble in Matt. 1.

There is one great and highly important change from the tradition of the liturgical drama which evidently occurred early in the history of the vernacular drama. This is the division of the *Officium Pastorum* into two parts, a Nativity play and a Shepherds' play. This division appears even in the Chester cycle, where there is none between the other Christmas plays. In the Towneley cycle the Nativity play was omitted.

In order to make two plays, much new material had to be introduced: in the Nativity play the source of this material was the Apocryphal Gospels, in the Shepherds' play the matter is new, and consists of realistic descriptions of the life of the shepherds on the hills.

Little need be said about the result in the English Nativity play; the plays speak for themselves. The miracles on the way to Bethlehem, the semi-theological discussions on the miraculous birth, the not very beautiful midwife story, all these are interesting and curious, but detract greatly from the charm, and eliminate almost entirely the religious fervor and devotion which are the chief literary glory of the tale. The York *Nativity Play*, which follows the simple Scripture narrative, is a notable exception. This play is marked throughout by the deepest and most tender feeling; one of the most beautiful scenes in dramatic literature is Mary's adoration of the child in this play, her mingled love and awe, her joy in show-

ing the child to Joseph, their kneeling together to worship him, and the description of the beasts kneeling on either side of the manger, and keeping the child warm with their warm breath.

The new material introduced into the Shepherds' play is not only interesting, and often good in itself, but is also important in the history of the English drama as furnishing the first comedy. The emphasis and centre of interest has shifted; it is no longer the manger and the adoration-scene which hold the center of the stage, but the life, the games, the quarrels, the jokes, and the hardships of the shepherds before the angel appears to them. The scene in the stable is, of course, preserved, and is often very beautiful in itself, but it generally holds a decidedly secondary place, and at times seems to be retained merely out of respect to convention. The Towneley dramatist, after writing the Mak interlude, although he was enough of an artist to write a good adoration-scene, nevertheless seems to have had little interest in it, and used material from the preceding play.

There seem to have been certain traditional humorous episodes for Shepherds' Plays which have survived in different cycles. For instance in the Chester and Coventry *Shepherds' Plays* we have the shepherds trying to imitate the Angel's song; in Ch. II and T. III we have descriptions of a grotesque meal; the impudent shepherd boy appears in both Ch. II and T. III, and the shrewish wife element appears not only in the Mak interlude but also in Ch. II and T. III. The fact that all these stock elements of humor appear in the Chester play might tend to show that instead of their being all derived from some parent cycle, the other Shepherds' Plays, and particularly the Towneley *Prima Pastorum*, are borrowed

from the Chester play. The fact that the prophetelement, present in all the others, is absent in the Chester play, would show, however, that there was some other general influence. The shepherd's complaint, common to all cycles, is so frequent in all Middle English literature that its presence in the mysteries is not at all significant; see note on T. IV. 1 ff.

The clever dramatist who contributed the two Shepherds' plays to the Towneley cycle transcended the work of all the others. The famous Mak interlude in T. IV is perhaps the best farce in English literature; it could hardly be improved in plot, in construction, or in characterization. But in minor details also, this dramatist shows his great ability. Notice particularly in the scene in T. IV. 201 ff., where Mak enters, the perfect picture of the gullible shepherds made nervous by Mak when he pretends that he is an ambassador from a great lord. But even if the Mak interlude had never been written, the description of the strife between Gyb and John Horne in T. III. 100 ff. would have made the Towneley dramatist's fame as a humorist.

The Annunciation and Visitation plays in the English cycles call for little comment. All of them follow very closely the Scriptural story as it is given in the liturgical dramas. The Coventry *Annunciation* and *Visitation* have added to the simple story much theology and a mediæval interpretation of the story from Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua, but, as we shall see later, the original dramas seem to have been as simple as those in the other cycles, and remain in the remodeled plays as the foundation of the plot.

The Joseph plays, we have seen, are the only ones which probably do not come from liturgical dramas.

In general, these plays are merely realistic pictures of the grief and anger of a man who discovers, or thinks that he discovers, that his wife has been false to him. It is interesting to compare the different ideas of our four dramatists as to what Joseph's state of mind would be. The Chester dramatist does not seem to be at all interested in any such psychological question, and although he does use the episode as a conventional bit of the Christmas story, he dismisses it in a few lines and goes on to matter of greater interest to him. The Coventry dramatist gives us a long and unpleasant play on the subject; Joseph is unnecessarily coarse of speech and angry in heart; there seems also to be more or less tendency to use him as the traditionally humorous cuckold. This play, however, is superior to the Chester and York plays in that it does succeed in giving us a real character, although an unpleasant one. The York play is longer than the Chester, but no more real. The dramatist covers more space by making Joseph relate, quire gratuitously, the story of his betrothal to Mary, by introducing the popular Middle English 'Old Man's Lament,' and by making Joseph ask five times who the child's father is. There is no characterization, and no form, to the York play. The Towneley *Joseph Play* (written as part of the *Annunciation*, T. I. 155-373) is by far the best of all. Joseph is a very real and lovable old man; one sympathizes with him all the more because he is so tender and loving toward Mary, and his grief seems all the greater, because it is unmingled with anger. The story of the betrothal, so miserably managed in the York play, is one of the most charming features of the Towneley. Joseph in his lonely grief becomes reminiscent, and most naturally in his soliloquy recalls

how he met Mary and how they were 'weddyd thus togedre.'

We have now analyzed the general characteristics of the Christmas plays, and have considered the development of these characteristics. There are, however, parts of the plays which we have not touched upon at all, the scenes in Rome in Ch. I, the scene in heaven in C. I, the prologue to T. I, and the monologues of Contemplation in C. I and III. These may all be regarded as resulting from idiosyncrasies, as attempts of the several dramatists to elaborate and ornament their plays. The sources of these passages are given in notes; their significance in relation to other problems will appear later; but they are of little significance or importance in considering the general history and development of the Christmas plays. Yet it should be noted that the occurrence of the same themes in continental mysteries—the Octavien scenes in the Old French *Mystere du Viel Testament*, and the Mercy and Truth prologue in the Italian *Annunciation* (d'Ancona 1. 182)—shows that the use of this material in mystery plays was not original with the English dramatists, although they generally took their material from the original sources, and not from continental mysteries (see p. 25).

6. THE CHESTER PLAYS

A. *Their Authorship and Date.*

Ch. I and II present some evidence as to the identity of their author, and therefore as to their date. The fact that this internal evidence is fully in accord with the external in the man to whom it points, strengthens

materially the theory that the Chester plays were written by Randall or Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, who took the vows in 1299 and died in 1364, and whose chief claim to fame has hitherto been the authorship of the *Polychronicon*.

Mr. E. K. Chambers (*Mediæval Stage* 2. 348-356) has discussed in full the external evidence for Higden's authorship; for details the student is referred to his work. In order to present a complete case I shall give a brief summary of Mr. Chambers' conclusions, and then proceed to present the internal evidence which I have come upon in studying the sources of these plays.

There are four sixteenth- and five seventeenth-century manuscripts of proclamations and bans, besides manuscripts H and h of the plays, containing notes on the date and authorship of the Chester plays. From these notes we learn that the plays were written by Don Randle or Rondall (the later manuscripts add the name Higden or Heggenet), that Sir John Arneway was mayor of Chester when the plays were given, that Clement was pope, and that Sir Henry Francis obtained from the pope a thousand days' pardon for all those who attended the plays. Mr. Chambers has identified all these persons. Higden was a monk at St. Werburgh's from 1299-1364; Sir Henry Francis is mentioned in 1377, and again in 1382, as senior monk of Chester; Clement VI was pope from 1342-1352. For a long time the chief argument against the credibility of this evidence was the mention in all the manuscripts of Sir John Arneway as mayor, for Sir John was mayor before either Higden or Francis was born. Mr. Chambers, however, has discovered that in Higden's time there was a mayor with a similar name, Richard Erneis or Herneys, and he suggests that it

is quite possible that this man's name became confused with that of his more famous predecessor, 'the "Dick Whittington" of the city, John Arneway or Hernwey.'

The chief difficulty with this evidence, of course, is that it all appears in such late manuscripts—the earliest being two hundred years later than the plays—and that in this space of time it would be most natural for legend to have fathered the plays upon the most famous monk of Chester, the author of the *Polychronicon*. If, however, we find the same material taken from the same sources in both the plays and the *Polychronicon*, if that material is rather unusual, and if we find in the plays references which Higden would be apt to make, the external evidence is somewhat strengthened. Of course all this will not make the evidence conclusive; for the use of the same sources might merely show to what books the monks of St. Werburgh's had access; the author of the plays may merely have interested Higden in the material he was using, or *vice versa*; and the source of all the external evidence we have may be the very internal evidence that I am about to present—that is, some sixteenth-century scholar, noticing the resemblance between the plays and the history, may have asserted dogmatically that Higden wrote the plays also. The cumulative circumstantial evidence is, however, quite convincing, and the probability certainly lies on the side of Higden's authorship. I trust that further study into the sources of the other plays, a task which I have not yet had an opportunity of undertaking, may result in the discovery of further evidence.

In examining the many mediæval versions of the Octavian-Sibyl myth and the Temple of Peace myth, which form so large a part of Ch. I, I came to the conclusion that in five places the direct source of the Chester

version was in the *Supputationes* of Martinus Polonus (see notes to Ch. I. 201–208, 304–375, 348, 647–701, 714–715), and that the Temple of Peace myth came from Alexander Neckam (see note to Ch. I. 575–620). A few weeks later, in reading Higden's *Polychronicon*, I discovered that in Bk. 4, chap. 3, he quotes Martinus as his source for the same legends to which I have referred, and in Bk. 3, chap. 44, quotes Neckam as his source for the description of the Temple of Peace and the other Virgilian myths which he quotes. (In the passages of the *Polychronicon* which deal with the matter included in ll. 647–701 and 714–715, Higden quotes the *Polieratica* 3.14, and not Martinus, but the two versions are practically identical.)

The versions in the plays and in the *Polychronicon* differ considerably in detail, but all differences are easily explicable on the ground that the two works are of so different a nature. The accounts in the *Polychronicon* are condensed, and often seem to be mere bibliographical references; those in the plays are naturally expanded and elaborated. There is one rather material change in Ch. I. 352–375, in the prophecy of the Sibyl. In Martinus and the *Polychronicon* the prophecy of the Erythræan Sibyl is put into the mouth of the Tiburtine Sibyl; in the play this error is corrected, and the prophecy is evidently improvised. The reason for this, however, is not far to seek; it is probably not a conscious correction, but a means of avoiding what would have been a very difficult task, the translation of Latin acrostic verse into English acrostic verse, for if left in Latin it would mean little to the audience. Why in the plays the devil is said to have built the temple, and in the *Polychronicon* and Neckam Virgil is the artificer, is not quite so clear. It may have been due, again, to the different

nature of the works: in Neckam and the *Polychronicon* the temple is merely mentioned as one of the long list of magical devices created by Virgil; in the play the interest is not in Virgil, and all that the spectator needs to know is that it was built by magic. The devil would signify much more to the audience at a mystery play, than would Virgil.

The evidence in Ch. II of Higden's authorship is very slight, and in itself of no significance. It consists merely of a few references to Lancashire (cf. notes to Ch. II. 117, 120.) One of the few facts known about Higden's life is that he was in some way connected with Lancashire.

Summary. According to a tradition preserved in nine sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts the Chester plays were written by Randall Higden, a monk of Chester, in the first half of the fourteenth century; chance references to other unimportant persons in these manuscripts can be verified, and the persons referred to identified, indicating that the tradition is an ancient one. A comparison of one of the plays with Higden's *Polychronicon* shows that the same material was used in both, and was drawn from the same sources. In another play we find perfectly gratuitous references to Lancashire, a county with which Higden was familiar. The whole trend of evidence points one way—to Higden's authorship, and the date 1328 given in MS. H is a most natural one for their composition.¹

¹ Cf. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 130, for additional testimony to an early date, based on the general style of the plays.

B. *Supposed French Influence.*

Whether or not the internal evidence presented above succeeds in determining the authorship of the plays, it is of great importance in throwing light on the old problem as to how much the Chester plays are indebted to French originals. The popular theory has always been that they are little more than translations or adaptations of some French play that is now lost, and the *Nativity Play* has always been used as one one of the strongest pieces of evidence.

There are four characteristics of Ch. I which are supposed to point directly toward France. They are:

1. The structure of the play. There are no divisions between the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Joseph*, and *Nativity Plays*, a characteristic of all Old French plays, and not common in England.
2. The Roman scenes. None of the other English plays include the Octavian-Sibyl or Temple of Peace scenes. The Old French *Mystere du Viel Testament* includes the former, and the *Mystere de la Nativité* describes the fall of a statue of Jupiter which it had been prophesied would stand 'donec virgo pariat.'
3. The language is full of French forms and derivatives. Octavian makes a speech in French, as do Herod, the Magi, and Pilate in later plays.
4. The first midwife's name is Tebel, as it always is in Old French versions, not Zelomi, as in the English plays and in the Apocryphal Gospels.

Despite these somewhat striking resemblances, I am not inclined to believe that the French influence was particularly strong, or at any rate that the Chester dramatist followed slavishly the conventions of French plays, or borrowed directly from the latter. A few

general principles should be borne in mind. First, it should be remembered that a very small proportion of either English or French mysteries is extant. It is hardly safe, therefore, to make dogmatic assertions about what the general type of either must have been. Refutation of the first argument for French influence is easier if we bear this in mind. Although the subject-matter of the English Nativity plays is more split up in the other three complete cycles, we find in the *Coventry Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors*, which is essentially an English play, the same absence of division into separate plays as in the *Chester Nativitiy*. In other words, out of the five extant English Nativity plays, three are divided into separate plays, and two consist of single undivided plays. Moreover, in the Chester plays there is a division between the *Nativity* and *Shepherds' Plays*, a division which never appears in the French plays, and which is also lacking in the obviously English *Coventry Pageant*. Not much weight can therefore be given to the argument from the structure of the plays.

The second general principle to be borne in mind is that the inheritance of the church was the same in both countries, and that the material adaptable for Nativity plays was necessarily small. The appearance of the Octavian-Sibyl myth in plays of both countries does not necessarily show any connection between them, therefore. But it is just here that the study of the sources of the Chester plays and of Higden's connection with them is of great importance. Whether or no Higden was the author of the plays matters little here; the important thing is that he, who was at least a contemporary of the author and lived in the same abbey with him, quotes non-French authors as his sources for the same legends as appear in the

plays. His quotation of the sources proves beyond reasonable doubt what the sources of the Chester plays were; for they agree in every case with what independent investigation would select as the sources. Moreover, after studying the many mediæval versions of these myths, one is more impressed with the differences between the English and French versions than with the resemblances.

The third argument is as easily overthrown. Strangely enough, Higden himself gives a satisfactory explanation of the French tone of the language. In the *Polychronicon* (1.59) he informs us that in his time 'uplandish' men would liken themselves to gentlemen by busy efforts to speak French. All that need be said about the appearance of French forms, therefore, is that they were used to give an air of refinement to the plays. The language of the English court during the 14th century was still French. The only parts of the Chester Plays written entirely in French are speeches of kings and emperors, evidently inserted for the sake of local color.

The argument from the name of the first midwife can be readily answered. In the two accounts of the birth of Christ which quote Bartholomew as their source, i. e. in this play and in the Golden Legend, the name Tebel or Zebel occurs. It is a natural inference, therefore, that the form Tebel comes from Bartholomew (see notes to Ch. I. 528 and 568). Even in the different manuscripts of *Pseudo-Matthew* the name Zelomi assumes various forms, one coming as close to Zebel as Zahel. But the form Zebel is not confined to French literature (see note to 528). The only conclusion, therefore, that we may draw from the appearance of this name is that the Chester dramatist was following *Pseudo-Bartholomew*, and the Coventry dramatist *Pseudo-Matthew*.

The French influence on the Chester dramatist, I am inclined to believe, was no stronger than upon any other educated and cultivated man of the time. The tradition recorded in MS. H, which in discussing the authorship problem we have seen is probably trustworthy, tells us that the author went thrice to Rome to obtain permission to give the plays. If this is true, he must, in those days of leisurely travel, have seen much of French life and customs, and perhaps also of French mysteries. The inclusion of the Roman legendary element in his Nativity play may even be due to his having seen it in some French Nativity; but he took his material from the Englishman Neckam, and from the churchman Martinus, and not from French literature.

Davidson's theory that the plays were originally in Anglo-Norman is based upon the remark in MS. H that Higden went to Rome to obtain permission to give the plays in the English tongue. This might better be interpreted as distinguishing between liturgical and vernacular dramas.

C. *General Literary Characteristics.*

The value of the Chester plays lies rather in their matter than in their form; they are interesting rather for the problems they present than for any literary excellence. The Expositor's story of the Temple of Peace, the best constructed part of our two plays, shows that the author was a better story-teller than dramatist. His powers of realistic description were not of a low order, either; the *Shepherds' Play*, although as a whole a shapeless mass, contains much effective detail, which was used later by a real dramatist in the Towneley *Prima Pastorum*. Joseph's argument with the 'Preco' is also a good bit of realism. The

Chester dramatist shows himself a better translator and versifier than any of our other three dramatists. The *Ave Maria* in Ch. I retains much of its original beauty, which is quite lost in the limping verse of Y., the rambling style of C., and the elaboration of T. Let me remark in passing that a comparison of these scenes in the four cycles is to my mind strong evidence against, rather than for, the existence of a parent cycle from which all are derived (cf. Davidson, *Engl. Mysteries*, pp. 157 ff.).

Having granted the Chester dramatist these points of excellence, we can go no farther. He is lacking in most of the essential characteristics of a good dramatist. He has no great interest in his characters except from the outside, no vicarious ability, no power of portraying the feelings and inner natures of his men and women, and no deep feeling of his own. As illustrations of these deficiencies we need only compare the Joseph and Mary dialogues of Ch. and T., or the Nativity scenes of Ch. and Y.

The general impression one obtains of the Chester dramatist is that he was a man of cosmopolitan tastes and learning, interested in both sacred and profane literature, less of a schoolman than he of Coventry, endowed with some literary ability, but that not dramatic, a spectator of life rather than a philosopher, with a mind active but not deep; on the whole, a rather delightful and interesting, though superficial personality.

7. THE COVENTRY PLAYS

A. *The Problem of their Origin.*

The so-called Coventry plays differ from the other English cycles in the following particulars: (1) there

is no credible authority for assigning them to any particular locality; (2) they were apparently not acted by town crafts or guilds, for no guild name is mentioned in connection with any of the plays; (3) they are full of mediæval theology and scholasticism.

The legend concerning these plays, from which they have taken their name, is that they were acted by the Grey Friars of Coventry. At first glance the evidence in favor of this legend seems strong, and one is strongly tempted to accept it, as it fits in so admirably with the nature of the plays, with their ecclesiastical flavor, and with the fact that they form the only extant cycle which is not a craft-cycle. Investigation has shown, however, that despite its attractiveness, we are not justified in accepting the evidence, for it seems to have arisen entirely because of its attractiveness.

The first man to ascribe these plays to the friars of Coventry was Dr. Richard James, librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, who bought the manuscript, and probably derived his information, from Robert Hegge of Durham, a C.C.C. Oxford man, and the first recorded owner of the manuscript. Hegge died in 1630, and the manuscript then passed into Cotton's hands (see Chambers, *Med. Stage* 2. 419). James, however, does not say that the cycle is *Ludus Coventriæ*, but 'vulgo dicitur *Ludus Coventriæ*,' and Hegge himself had merely written on the manuscript: *The plaie called Corpus Christi*. Moreover, James made one serious blunder which alone would weaken his testimony, for he refers to the plays as including merely 'Contenta Novi Testamenti.' The process of James' reasoning is easy to trace: it is quite evident both from this and other testimony that the friars of Coventry were accustomed to give mystery plays; James, chancing upon a cycle that bore

the name of no town nor craft, and that was unusually full of theology, decided that this probably was the cycle. Not having the modern scholarly spirit, he asserted that they were the plays he thought they were, not merely that he thought so. In referring to them as plays on the New Testament he showed that he had not read them carefully, and that he had confused with the friars' plays the craft-plays of Coventry, which probably did contain only New Testament material.¹

The next piece of evidence, based largely on James, is in Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire*, 1656, where he says on James' authority that these are the plays played by the Grey Friars of Coventry. He does give us, however, more evidence of the fact that the Grey Friars did give some plays, for he says that old men of the town told him in his youth of the great crowds of people they, in their youth, had seen flocking to the plays given by the friars. This information has been too much doubted. It is true that the monasteries were closed in 1538, and that Dugdale was not born until 1605; it has therefore been asserted that the plays the old men referred to were the craft-plays, which were not discontinued until 1580. I am inclined to believe, however, that Dugdale knew whereof he spake. In the first place there would be nothing particularly remarkable in having seen people that remembered things that happened only twenty-five years before his birth, and he would hardly emphasize the fact that in his *youth* old men told him about them. In the second place, it is by no means impossible that he is telling the literal truth. Notice that he does not say that the old men described the plays to him or really remembered them at all, but merely

¹ The extant plays of this cycle, referred to on p. 1, are published by the EETS., Ex. Ser. 87.

that they remembered the crowds and their excitement. I personally recall having had described to me, as a child, by my grandmother, a similar event, which occurred over sixty years before I was born, and of which she was an eye-witness at the age of five. Of course, Dugdale's testimony proves nothing about our plays, but it does to me give satisfactory proof of the fact that the Grey Friars of Coventry gave some plays.

The Coventry *Annals* for 1492, which unfortunately were written in the 17th century, mention the fact that in that year the Grey Friars played before the king.

In addition to the destructive criticism of the Coventry myth, which has proved entirely that the external evidence is not to be relied on, in so far as it tries to prove that these are the plays written and presented by the friars, there has been also constructive criticism, which supports the destructive. Ten Brink (2.283) has shown that the dialect of these plays is Northeast Midland, and that therefore it is linguistically impossible that they should have come originally from Coventry.

There is one rather ambiguous bit of information contained in the general prologue to the plays, which should be mentioned before we go further. At the close of the *Prologue* are these lines:

A Sunday next, yf that we may,
At vj. of the belle we gynne oure play
In N. towne, wherfore we pray
That God be zoure spede. Amen.

From this it has been argued that the plays were given by strolling players, the 'N.' of 'N. towne' standing for Nomen (as in the church marriage service), to be filled in as the case required.

Chambers suggests that the 'N.' may stand for 'Norwich' (or presumably for any other Northrast Midland town beginning with N. whose name would fit the metre), and that this advertisement was merely sent around to the surrounding villages. Hohlfeld (*Anglia* 11) thinks they may have originally been played by Coventry friars, and then by a company of strolling players, the craft-plays of Coventry having driven the friars' plays out of business. Gayley (*Plays of our Forefathers*, p. 136) has recently offered a more suggestive theory. He proposes the idea that these are the lost plays of the Lincoln cycle, which we know was similar, in that it contained many plays on the life of the Virgin, and that afterward they were used by a company of strolling players.

I call Gayley's theory suggestive, not that I agree with it in detail, for it seems to share with Chambers' the fault of trying to be altogether too specific, considering the small amount of material they had to work from, but that it recognizes the composite nature of the cycle, and the fact that the Prologue is not entirely in accord with the plays themselves.

My own theory I will state here, and present some of the evidence in detail in the next section. After analyzing the plays and studying the sources, I am led to believe that the original plays did not contain the theological element, but were very similar to the other English plays. They may have been craft-plays which later fell into the hands of strolling players, or more probably they were originally written for a traveling company. The prologue was written for this original cycle; we shall see later that the omissions in the prologue are always of the theological additions, and that in reading the prologue one would not realize that these plays differed markedly from other

English mysteries. After a time this cycle fell into the hands of an ecclesiastic who added the theology, and left the prologue as it was (with one omission; see first note on C. III). Whether or not this ecclesiastic was of Coventry we have no means of discovering. The fact that the friars of Coventry are the only ecclesiastics of England who are at least rumored to have given plays, adds some credibility to James' and Dugdale's theory. The objection from dialect is strong, but not insurmountable, for it is quite probable that the work of revision may have been done by a northern man. I have retained the name 'Coventry' for the plays, instead of using 'N. town' as Gayley suggests, or 'Hegge,' as does Hone; for there is more reason for connecting them with Coventry than with any other town. 'N. town' seems awkward, and 'Hegge' inconsistent with the nomenclature of the other plays.

B. *Their Composite Nature.*

In the preceding paragraph I have said that the Coventry plays are composed of two elements: first, the simple, typical, realistic English mystery play, and secondly, theological and scholastic amplifications and adornments. The second element is drawn entirely from the works of the fourteenth century Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua,¹ particularly from his *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*; sometimes the translation is *verbatim*. The sources are quoted in the notes, and are, I think, indisputable.

The Bonaventura element is most distinct and unmixed in the first 214 lines of C. I, and the two Contemplation monologues of C. III. It is quite significant that no mention is made of the first 214

¹ Generally confused with St. Bonaventura, with whose works those of our Cardinal are published.

lines of C. I in the prologue (see first note on C. I), and that the prologue for C. III is omitted entirely. The reviser evidently thought it not worth while to change the Prologue for C. I, as it still described in outline the last part of the play; but when he came to C. III it was a different matter, for he had in his additions given quite a different version of the story from that in the original play. He therefore omitted the prologue for C. III entirely.

C. III offers the most striking evidence of the composite nature of the plays. We can trace in this play the simplest form of mystery play in the almost liturgical scene of the singing of the *Magnificat*, then the true English realism in the opening scene, the journey to 'Montana,' and finally the monologues. The fact that the removal of these monologues would result in improving not only the dramatic unity, but even the consistency of the plays, is strong evidence that they were added as a display of erudition. No man in sitting down to write a play with such a simple plot could succeed in giving such contradictory versions in a few lines. The story as we have it in the play proper is the conventional one, except that the character of Joseph has been added. Mary and Joseph go together to see Elizabeth; there is some humorous by-play about Zachary's dumbness; then Elizabeth and Mary sing the canticles, and Mary and Joseph go home. After their departure, Contemplacion comes forward and gives us Bonaventura's version. This naturally follows the Scriptural account, and relates that Mary stayed three months. This three months' visit being impossible to represent on the stage, it was always omitted in mystery plays, including C., as we have seen. Contemplacion, however, describes how during the three months Mary served

Elizabeth, was present at the birth of John, and kissed him before she left. She finally describes how Zachary sang the *Benedictus*, and how the Church canticles were composed, finally indulging in a rhapsody on the blessedness of such a house in holding such inmates. All this matter, it is quite evident, is foreign to the spirit of mystery plays, and inconsistent with this particular play. Ll. 147–149 (see Variants and note) would suggest that there was an attempt to combine two distinct versions of this play into the one which we have. The absence of any notice of the play in the prologue may thus be accounted for.

It is impossible to say how much of the original play has survived in C. I. We have seen that the first 214 lines are late additions, but whether the *Salutation Play* proper was entirely rewritten, or merely ornamented with Bonaventuran theology, one cannot say. The main outline of that story could hardly be changed, and although the prologue describes the *Salutation* as it stands in our version, I think it probable that the whole play is a substitution for an earlier and simpler one.

The *Joseph Play* remains, I believe, in practically its original form. Here was a great chance for an ecclesiastic to work in some of his learning; but the reviser does not seem to have used his opportunity, and has left us a long and coarse realistic play—one, however, which reflects the layman rather than the churchman.

The *Nativity* and *Shepherds' Plays* seem to be largely in their original form, as far as we can judge from the prologues. The remark in l. 1 of the prologue to the *Shepherds' Play* (see first note to C. V) probably means simply 'Christ shall have been born.' The opening scenes of the *Nativity Play* are in the same

style as the *Joseph Play*, and the midwife-element is one of the oldest in all the mysteries. The *Coventry Nativity Play* has been left in its original form in every detail, so far as we can see.

The tone of the *Shepherds' Play* differs from the realistic parts of the other plays of this cycle and from the *Shepherds' Plays* of the other cycles. Some of the stock material of *Shepherds' plays* remains, however—the attempt to imitate the angel's song, the singing on the way to Bethlehem, &c. There is far more dignity and reverence in the description of the shepherds' visit than we generally find; their salutation-lyrics are in very conventional Middle English verse, without much feeling, but very proper; the prophecies are made a rather conspicuous part of the play, and in the first few lines there is a gratuitous reference to the seven sacraments. These latter characteristics point toward the pedant who introduced the Bonaventuran element, although we do still find elements of the realistic play. The *Shepherds' Play* was therefore, I think, rewritten by the reviser, who still retained in his altered version some elements of the earlier one.

In order to distinguish between what I regard as practically certain and what I regard as merely probable, let me sum up my conclusions. I think it indubitable that the first part of the *Coventry Annunciation* (C. I. 1–214), the *Contemplacion-monologues* in the *Visitation* (C. III. 23–42 and 164–200), and also C. III. 147–149, are late additions. The evidence is almost equally strong that all of the *Annunciation Play* has been rewritten, parts of the old plays being perhaps used in such passages as 235–256. As to the composition of the other plays, I have only suggested what seemed probable to me personally.

C. *Date and Authorship.*

There is no direct evidence of any kind by which the date or authorship of this cycle can be determined. Gayley would date the ecclesiastical portions at about the first half of the fifteenth century, and assign the simpler portions, as bearing a close resemblance to the liturgical drama, to an earlier period. Our investigations into the sources of the ecclesiastical portions confirm the approximate correctness of the former date. Bonaventura wrote the *Meditationes* in 1376 (see Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Eccles. Auctarium de Script.* 442), the version in the plays is based upon an earlier English translation (see note to C. I. 1-186); it is therefore probable that the version in our plays did not appear before 1400.

Chambers (*Med. Stage* 2. 145) cites a rumor that Lydgate, the famous monk of Bury, was the author of these plays. This rumor seems to have arisen from the fact that Ritson (*Bibl. Poet.*, p. 79), following Bishop Tanner, includes in the list of Lydgate's works a 'Procession of pageants from the creation', which has never been identified. If this is the only evidence (and I have been able to find no other), it is of course of no value whatever. It is interesting to note, however, that Lydgate includes the allegory of Mercy and Truth in his *Life of Our Lady*, that the date of his life (1370?-1450?) would harmonize with the date of the ecclesiastical portions of the plays, that there is another unconfirmed rumor that he studied at Padua, (if he did he would probably have been there just after the heroic death of Cardinal Bonaventura, who fell fighting as a 'defensor ecclesiasticæ libertatis' in 1389) and that he translated the not widely known hymn *Stella cæli extirpavit*, which is referred to in C. V (see note to C. V. 77). All

this, however, does not amount to evidence of Lydgate's authorship, but is given in the hope that it may prove useful when the evidence for the rumor quoted by Chambers is discovered.

D. *Their Literary Value.*

There is little to add concerning the literary value of the Coventry plays; much has been implied in the former sections. Their chief defects lie in their lack of form, and in their burden of pedantic learning. Their chief excellence lies in the realism of the *Joseph Play*, and the opening scenes of the *Visitation* and *Nativity Plays*. The realism of the *Joseph Play* is unpleasant, but the character-drawing and rough strength of the play stand out sharply when compared with the average Joseph play. These plays possess more than the others the false value of 'quaintness and naïveté,' the two characteristics for which all mystery plays are unfortunately, but sometimes deservedly, famous.

Credit should be granted to the ecclesiastic who translated or paraphrased the Bonaventuran element for his comparative skill as a translator, and such credit should be withheld from the wretched translator of the *Magnificat*.

In style and finish the ecclesiastic was superior; in feeling and knowledge of mankind, the earlier layman. Curiously enough, the man of learning, although the possessor of a fairly good style and some ability in the technique of verse-making, lacked the sense of form; and the uneducated layman, without style or technical ability of any sort, seemed to possess naturally much more feeling, and a rough sense of form.

8. THE YORK PLAYS

The York plays, though of considerable importance in the study of English mystery plays, are by far the least interesting, both intrinsically and in the lack of any problems connected with them. This cycle is the most complete English cycle; there is much information concerning it still extant in contemporary town records, &c., and the plays are most conventional, and typical of the simplest form of mystery play.

Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, in her admirable edition of the plays, gives detailed information about the cycle. I shall merely quote some of the more important bits. There is no doubt about the date of composition, about 1350; the author is unrecorded. The plays were given on Corpus Christi day by the crafts of York. The author based his stories almost entirely on the Biblical account, once in a while adding a detail from the Apocryphal Gospels. The *Cursor Mundi* influenced some of the plays markedly (none of those in this edition to any degree, however; but see note to Y. I. 25-30 and Y. II. 72-73).

Davidson, in his exhaustive study of the metres of this cycle, has shown that the part of Y. IV written in the northern septenar stanza was probably written by an earlier hand (Y. IV. 1-36). Gayley believes that all the humorous parts were written by a later hand than the conventional, at times almost liturgical, parts. He thinks the humorous part of the *Shepherds' Play* was written by a dramatist of what he calls the middle period, earlier than the work of the dramatist who, he thinks, wrote some of the plays on the Passion, but later than the rest of our group. The lack of material in our edition makes it impossible to discuss

this question; those interested in pursuing the investigation are referred to Davidson's and Gayley's work.

The York plays are important as affording a sort of norm by which to compare and judge the other plays. They are the simplest and closest of all to the liturgical drama, with few extraneous accretions and little elaboration. The absence of the midwife and the Apocryphal Gospel element, which appears in the extant liturgical dramas, is probably to be accounted for by the fact that the York liturgical drama followed the Biblical account entirely. The only Apocryphal element in the plays of this edition is Joseph's narrative of his betrothal, and this was probably taken either from general tradition or from the *Cursor Mundi* (see note to Y. II. 25-34). Even this is merely a passing reference, and has not developed into a play, as in the Coventry cycle.

The only real literary ability manifest in our plays is in the scene of the Adoration by Mary and Joseph. Here the writer shows depth and beauty of feeling, which elsewhere does not relieve the limping verse and commonplace ideas. The *Joseph Play* is the most forced and ineffective of all the plays in this collection, and the *Shepherds' Play*, though possessing some merit in its realism and humor, falls below its parallels in the other cycles.

9. THE TOWNELEY PLAYS

A. *Their Name and Origin.*

I have rather inconsistently retained the name Towneley to designate these plays, for no better reason than that, though inconsistent, it has been

adopted by all previous editors, and should be arbitrarily accepted by writers on these plays in order to avoid confusion in reference. The name comes from the family who owned the manuscript for many years, and despite the efforts of Davidson and Gayley to restore the names Woodkirk and Wakefield respectively, it seems probable that through this manuscript the Towneley name will be perpetuated.

There is ample evidence for assigning this cycle to the town of Wakefield in Yorkshire, and for believing that originally the plays were craft-plays. The manuscript of the early plays is labeled Wakefield in one or two places, and several of the plays have the names of crafts attached to them. Moreover, throughout the cycle there are references in the plays proper to places near Wakefield (see notes to T. IV. 403 and 455). The name Woodkirk, used by Davidson, refers to the legend that the manuscript was once owned by the Abbey of Woodkirk, near Wakefield. This tradition cannot be traced back further than 1814, when it is included in a bookseller's description of the manuscript. Later, in 1883, another similar description says that it was written by the Black Canons of Woodkirk. These must have been the traditional beliefs of the Towneley family, and the Surtees Society editor of the cycle thinks that the Woodkirk theory has 'remarkably the characteristics of genuine tradition.' The plays themselves, however, bear no evidence of ecclesiastical origin (compare them for example with the Coventry plays), and if there is any truth in the legend, it probably is merely in the fact that the abbey once owned the manuscript. The fact that twice annually, at the Feast of the Assumption and the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, the monks of Woodkirk held fairs in Wakefield, seems of no significance.

B. *Their Composition and Date.*

The four plays of the Christmas group are the work of two distinct hands. The *Annunciation* and *Visitation Plays* differ in spirit, in style, in verse-form, and in vocabulary, from the two *Shepherds' Plays*. The latter are evidently the work of a man who was chosen to write also Plays 3, 16, 21, and parts of 30. All the plays of this group are written in the same unusual verse-form, reflect the same boldness of spirit and sense of humor (or perhaps rather of boisterous fun), and employ the same vocabulary and word-forms.

There is general agreement regarding the approximate date of this latter group, about 1400. The evidence in favor of this date is conclusive. First there is a reference in Play 30 to the piked head-gear worn by women, which was introduced by Anne of Bohemia in 1388, and which was still in use as late as 1420 (in support of this Pollard refers to illustrations in MSS. Harl. 2897, fol. 188 b, and Harl. 4431, fol. 2). Then there is the evidence in the *Shepherds' Plays*, in the conversation of the shepherds about the condition of the country. Pollard suggests that this agrees with conditions in the early part of the fifteenth century, and that the absence of any reference to war with France would show that the play was written no later than Henry IV's reign. Pollard inclines to a date near the close of Henry's reign; to me an earlier date seems more probable, for the tone of the shepherds seems more in agreement with the time of the Peasants' Revolt, and there are no references to the various civil wars of Henry's reign, which did much to make the peasants forget their grievances.

The *Annunciation* and *Visitation Plays* seem to belong to another small group by a collaborator of quite

different, but equally indisputable, genius. This group is composed of Plays 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10 (T. I), 11 (T. II), 17, 23, and 28. With the theory proposed by Pollard that this group is part of an original didactic cycle, in so far as it distinguishes it from the rest of the cycle, and implies an earlier date for it, I entirely disagree. The simple structure of the *Visitation Play* is the only argument in favor of this theory which can be adduced from the plays of this edition, and this is completely outweighed by a consideration of the perfect finish and style of the two plays. A comparison of the workmanship in this play, in the translations of the Canticles for example, with that in the other Visitation plays, should prove not only the great ability of the dramatist, but also the late date of his work.

Although the York cycle, from which several of the Towneley plays were taken direct, had no great influence on any of the plays of this edition, nevertheless the author at times shows even here that he was familiar with the York plays. Hohlfeld (*Anglia* 11) has pointed out verbal parallels between the York and Towneley *Joseph Plays*, most of which do not seem very significant, for they can also be paralleled in the other cycles. In the structure of the Towneley *Joseph Play*, however, and in some of the incidents, we have reminiscences of the York play. Joseph's description of his betrothal to Mary, for example, the Towneley dramatist has evidently borrowed from the York play, and has succeeded in making a true poem out of a few rough and awkward lines. Hohlfeld's verbal parallels may in one or two instances uphold this theory, but not much weight should be laid on their testimony.

It is not safe to draw any conclusions from the *Annunciation Play* proper, for it is merely an elaborated

version of the account in Luke. The prologue to the *Annunciation*, however, strangely enough bears considerable resemblance to the Bonaventuran element which introduces the Coventry *Annunciation*. It may, of course, be argued that such resemblance does not necessarily imply any connection, for the idea of introducing such a play with an explanation of the reasons for the Incarnation is a natural one. The fact remains, however, that the Coventry and Towneley cycles are the only ones which do contain such an introduction, and, moreover, that the Towneley prologue seems to be more or less a digest of parts of the expanded allegorical version in C. I. Notice particularly the opening of both: man has lain years in the pains of Hell because of Adam's sin, the time of redemption has come, but redemption must be made

Both thurgh mercy and thurgh myght,
All wyth reson and with right.

These two lines seem to sum up the idea at the basis of the long allegory of Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace, in C. I. The prophet-element is then introduced; in C., Isaiah and Jeremiah represent the whole array of the prophets from the Augustinian sermon, all of whom appear in T. God then calls Gabriel, and gives him the same instructions in both plays, and the *Annunciation Play* begins. The resemblances seem to me quite other than fortuitous, and argue a late date for at least the prologue of T. I, 1400 being about the earliest possible (cf. p. xxxvii on date of C. plays).

It seems probable to me that the *Annunciation* and *Visitation Plays*, far from being composed earlier than the *Shepherds' Plays*, are at least as late as they, and perhaps even later. There seems to be no sufficient reason for assuming that they were not written in

collaboration, at about the same time. The whole burden of proof rests upon those who assert that the plays were written at different times; for they all show influence of the other cycles, T. I of C. I and Y. II, and T. III of Ch. II (see notes). All are written in a much more finished style than the other cycles; the language of the supposedly early *Annunciation* and *Visitation*, at least, is more modern; the whole tone of the plays lacks the 'quaintness' which we find in the other cycles, and the theory that they were written at about the same date (and that comparatively late) by men of very different natures, seems to harmonize with everything that we find in the plays themselves.

C. *The Towneley Plays as Literature.*

The Towneley plays are the flower and consummation of the English Nativity drama. In natural genius and in technique these two dramatists stand high above their predecessors.

The dramatist of the *Shepherds' Play* has always justly received his full quota of praise. The excellence of the structure of the Mak interlude marks, of course, his greatest triumph, and he has given us the first real plot in English dramatic literature. I have previously (p. xvii) called attention to his ability as a humorist. Professor Gayley has pointed out that even in the *Prima Pastorum* the author, still feeling his way, has given us a dramatic idyll, a pastoral picture, with comic motive and dialogue, although lacking comic action, which surpasses all that has been done before, and is surpassed in kind only by the addition of a real plot in the *Secunda Pastorum*.

I do not, however, agree with Professor Gayley in considering the transition from the Mak interlude to the Adoration scene a strong point of the play. To

me the contrast is not effective as it is given; for the dramatist seems to lose interest, and merely from convention adds the last scene, which, although perfect in verse-form and technique, lacks the sympathetic feeling of the *Prima Pastorum*, where practically the same material is used.

The only bit of appreciation of the excellence of the work of the other Towneley dramatist which has hitherto appeared, is praise of one detail (T. I. 269-274) by Pollard, who very appropriately compares this stanza with Rossetti. To me the superiority of these plays on the Annunciation and Visitation over the corresponding ones in the other cycles is quite as striking as the superiority of the Towneley *Shepherds' Plays*. The most noticeable improvement is in the versification. The weak and limping line, so common in all the other cycles, almost never appears, and there is no awkward and unnatural arrangement of words for the sake of metre. The thought flows naturally along, aided rather than confined by rime and rhythm. There are a good many run-on lines which add to the naturalness, and in no way detract from the music. A typical example of this excellence of versification is in ll. 89-94:

ffor thou has fonden all thyn oone
The grace of God, that was out gone
ffor Adam plyght.
This is the grace that the betydys,—
Thou shall conceyue within thi sydys
a chyld of myght.

This dramatist also shows great superiority in technique over his predecessors. His excellence in form and construction is well emphasized by a comparison of his *Joseph Play* with those of the other dramatists, particularly with the York play. The two methods of introducing the narrative of the betrothal are typical

of the difference between the two dramatists. In the York play this element is dragged in without any excuse or connection; in the Towneley play it is one of the most natural and effective parts of the play. The *Joseph Play* also proves the dramatist's skill in characterization. Joseph is quite as real as in the Coventry play, and is an infinitely more attractive personality. In drawing this character the dramatist seems to give a hint of his own strong gentleness and true, deep devotion.

The only flaw in this man's work is similar to the defect we have noticed in the *Secunda Pastorum*. It is again a question of transition, this time in the *Visitation Play*, and it is again the transition from original to conventional work. The first thirty lines of this play are a charming bit of realism—the homely, family gossip of Mary and Elizabeth—then suddenly and without warning the dramatist bursts into a very beautiful translation of the two glorious canticles, the *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* and the *Magnificat*. Even if the author had followed this general outline, which contradicts the Scriptural account, where Elizabeth bursts out in prophecy as soon as she sees Mary, the dramatic effectiveness of the scene, which lies in the spontaneity and inevitableness of the salutation, need not have been lost. If, for example, in the middle of a line Elizabeth had interrupted Mary with her prophetic psalm, the play would have been saved, but to have it introduced as an ordinary bit of the dialogue causes a distinctly jarring note. Both elements of the play in themselves are of a high order of excellence. The translations of the canticles in particular should be noticed, for they preserve no little of the beauty of the original; but the method of combining the two elements was unfortunate.

On the whole, however, the author of the Towneley *Annunciation* and *Visitation* should take as high rank as a poet as the author of the Towneley *Shepherds' Plays* holds as a dramatist. This implies high praise for both.

10. CONCLUSION

The foundation of the Christmas plays of all the cycles has been seen to consist of two simple elements—a translation of the Scriptural narrative, and a transcript of contemporary life. The one appears for the most part in the *Annunciation*, *Visitation* and *Nativity* plays, the other in the *Joseph* and *Shepherd* plays. The *York* cycle shows the two in their simplest and least elaborated form. The *York* dramatist had practically no original ability (so far as we can judge from these few plays), and very little skill either as translator or transcriber. The *Chester* and *Coventry* plays show an attempt to improve on the simple *York* form by a multiplication of materials, introduction of extraneous matter, and the *Chester* play by an elaboration of the realistic description. The extraneous matter in the *Chester* cycle reflects cosmopolitan, secular learning; that in the *Coventry* plays, Church scholasticism. Neither succeeds in improving the plays to any degree from a literary point of view, although they add much interesting and curious matter. The Towneley *Annunciation* dramatist, without the introduction of new material, made real poetry out of the simple matter of the *York* plays. The Towneley *Shepherd* dramatist, by a synthetic expansion of the realistic matter of the *Chester Shepherds' Play*, and an addition of allied matter, produced the first real English drama.

TEXT



NOTE ON TEXT AND VARIANTS OF THE CHESTER PLAYS

My text of these plays is based on MS. D (see Int. p. 1). Readings of the other manuscripts, when inferior to D., are given in the Variants; when superior they are inserted in parentheses () in the text, and D's reading is given in the Variants. Brackets [] indicate my own emendations. When reference to any manuscript is omitted in the Variants, it is, of course, implied that that manuscript follows the reading in the text.

In many cases the reading of MS. W is not certain. The two former editors very often disagree in their readings of W. Wright did not pretend to give a critical text, so it is generally safer to follow Deimling. Deimling, however, often omits reference to W entirely, thus implying that it follows his own text, where Wright gives quite different and often inferior readings. In the latter cases it seems probable that Wright gives a better transcript of the original. When Wright and Deimling agree, I refer to the reading as W; when they disagree, I refer to Wright's reading as Wr., and to Deimling's as Dm. It should be borne in mind that both abbreviations, Wr. and Dm., refer only to MS. W.



THE WRIGHTES PLAYE.

[33a]

PAGINA SEXTA DE SALUTATIONE ET NATIUITATE SALVATORIS JESU CHRISTI.

[Scene 1]

Gabriell: Hayle be thou Mary, mother free,
full of grace, god is with thee!
amongst all women blessed thou bee,
and the fruite of thy bodye.

Maria: A, lord, that sytte high in see, 5
that wondrouslye now mervayles mee,
a simple mayden of my degree
bee greete this gratusly.

Gabriell: Marye, ne dread thou nought this case,
with greate god found thou hase, 10
amongst all other, specyall grace,
Therfowr, Marye, thou mone

Conceyue and beare, I tell thee,
a childe, Jesus his name shalbe;

soo great shall never non be as hee, 15
and called gode sonne;

and our lord god, leewe thou mee,
shall give him Davyd his father's see,

The wrightes playe] so h, The wrightes H, The wrightes and
slaters B, The wryghtes and Sklaters plaie W. *After the Latin*
in B and H

1 mother] maiden H B h Dm., mother Wr. 3 amongst] among
H B W h 5 sytte] sits H B W h 6 wondrouslye] wonderly H
9 thou] the H B W h 10 and 11] *inverted in H* 10 hase]
haste Wr. 11 amongst] amonge H B W h other] wemen W
specyall] especiall Wr. 14 Jesus his name] his name Ihesu
H B W h 15 shall never non be] shall never be none H,
shalbe never non W h 16 Gode] Godes H B W h

in Jacobb howse (raigne) shall hee
 20 with full might evermore.

and he that shalbe borne of thee,
 endlesse liffe in him shalbe,
 that such renowne and ryaltye
 had never non before.

25 *Maria*: How may this bee? thow beast so bright;
 in synne know I not worldly wight.

Gabryell: The holye ghoste shall in thee light
 from god in maistee,

and shadowe thee seemely in sight;
 30 therefore that holye one, as I have height,
 that thou shalt beare through gode might,
 (his) sonne shall called bee.

Elizabeth that barren was,
 as thow maye see, conceyued has
 35 in age a sonne, through gode grace,
 the bedyll shalbe of blysse.

The sixte moneth is gone now agayne,
 seeth men called her barren,
 but nothinge to gode might and mayne
 40 impossible is.

[33b] *Maria*: Now syth that god will yt soe bee,
 and such grace hath sent to mee,
 blessed evermore bee hee;
 to please him I am payde.

19 raigne] raynynge D 21 he] omit h 25] beast] arte
 B W h 26 knowe] knewe H B W h not] no H B W h
 worldly] wordly B 28 maistee] magistie Wr. 30 one]
 omit H B W h height] teight W 31 gode] Gods H B W h
 32 his] hee D his sonne] Iesus B 35 gode] Gods H B W h
 36 bedyll] Keydell W h 38 seeth] sith H B W h 39 gode]
 Gods H B W h 40 impossible] vnpossible B h 41 soe
 bee] be so W h 42 such] suche a W h sent] send H B h
 Dm., sente Wr.

Loe gode chosen meekelye here!
and lorde god, prince of powere,
leeve that yt fall in such manere—
this word that thow hast sayde.

45

Tunc angelus ibit, et Maria salutabit Elizabeth.

[Scene 2]

Elizabeth, nece, god thee see!

Elizabeth: Marye, blessed mote thow bee,
and the (fruit) that commeth of thee,
amonge women all!

50

wonderlye now mervayles mee
that Marye, gode mother free,
greetes mee thus of simple degree.
lord, how may this befall?

55

when thow mee greetest, sweete Marye,
the childe stirred in my bodye
for great ioye of thy companye,
and the fruite that is in thee.

60 •

Blessed be thow ever forthy,
that leved soe well and stedfastly!
for that was sayde to thee, ladye,
fulfilled and done shalbee.

Maria gaudens incipiet canticum 'magnificat' &c.

45 gode] Gods H B W h chosen] cossen Wr.

Stage direction Maria] omit H B h Dm.

49 nece] nice Wr. 50 mote] moste W, might B, mayst h

51 fruit] fruites D commeth] comes H B W h 54 gode] Gods

H B W h 55 thus] this Wr. degree] degreey B W h, gree H

56 this] that Wr. 57 mee] after greetest H 58 stirred]

sturred H B h Dm., stored Wr. 62 leved] lyued B

Stage direction gaudens] gaudiens D, gaudentes H &c.] anima
H, omit W h; W adds et dicat Maria

65 *Maria* : Elizabeth, therefore will I
 thank the lord, kinge of mercye,
 with ioyfull myrth and melody,
 and laud to his likinge;
 Magnificat, while I have toome,
 70 anima mea dominum,
 to Christe that in my kind is come,
 devoutly will I singe;

et exultavit spiritus meus in deo, &c. [Luke I. 47.]

and for my ghost ioyed hase
 in god, my heal and all my grace—
 75 for meekeness he see in me was,
 his feare of meane degree—

Therefore blesse mee well maye
 all generacions for aye;
 (much has god done for me to-day,
 80 his name aye hallowed be!)

much has that lord done for mee,
 that moste is in his majestye;
 all princes hee passes of postee,
 as sheweth well by this.

therefore with full hart and free
 his name allway hallowed be,

[34 a]

69 toome] to me Wr. 70 mea dominum] mei domine Wr.
 71 is] now H B h Dm., is Wr. 72 will I] I will H B W h
 after 72 et . . . &c.] omit h Dm., not omitted in Wr. &c.] sal-
 uatori meo H 76 of meane] in manye W h 78 and 79] omit
 h, according to Deimling, who probably means to refer to ll. 79–80,
 which are misplaced in all manuscripts 79 and 80] D omits here
 and inserts after l. 88. According to Deimling all other manuscripts
 insert these lines after l. 86. Wright, however, inserts them after 88,
 showing that this is probably an error by Deimling 83 of]
 in H B W h 86 allway hallowed be] aye hallowed be aye
 W, allway blessed be aye h

and honored evermore be hee
on height in heaven blysse!

as he is bound to doe mercye
from progenye to progenye,
and all that dredene hym veryly,
his talent to ffullfill.

90

hee through his myght gave maystery,
disperses proud dispitously,
with myght of his harte hastely
at his owne will;

95

Deposethe myghty oute of place,
and myke allsoe he haunsed hase,
hongry, nydy, wantinge grace,
with (good) hee hath fullfellede.

100

That rych powere he hath forsakene,
to Israell, his sonne, he hath betaken;
wayle to man throughe him (is waken),
and myrcy hasse of his guylte,

As he spake to our fathers before,
Abrahame and his syde full yore.
Joye to the father evermore,
the sone, and the holy ghoste,

105

As was from the beginninge,
and never shall have endinge,
from world to world aye wendinge,
Amen! god of might most.

110

87 evermore] allwaie evermore W 88 on] and W h
height] highe B W h 89 bound] bowne H B 91 and 92] omit h
93 gave] gave them H 94 disperses] disperseles H, dispersing
B dispitously] did pitously W 97 deposeth] disposeth W h
98 haunsed] hansced Wr. 100 good] god D 102 he hath]
omit H B h Dm. 103 is waken] his wakinge D 104 of] for
B, in h his] omit h guilt] owine W, store h 106 full] for W h
111 wending] weilding W h 112 might] mightes H B h

Elizabeth: Marye, now redd I that wee gone
 to Joseph, thy husband, anon,
 115 leste hee to misse thee make mone,
 for now that is most neede.

[34b] *Maria*: Elizabeth, nece, to doe so good is
 leste hee suppose one mee amysse;
 but good lord, that hath ordayned this,
 120 wyll witnes of my deede.

[Scene 3]

Elizabeth: Joseph, god the save and see!
 thy wife here I (have) brought to thee.

Joseph: Alas, alas! and woe is mee!
 whoe hathe made her with chyld?

125 well I wist an ould man and a maye
 might not accord by noe waye,
 for many yeares might I not playe,
 ne worke noe workes wild.

Three monethes shee hath bene from mee,
 130 now hathe shee gotten her, as I see,
 a great bellye, like to thee,
 syth shee went away.

and myne yt is not, bee thow bould,
 for I am both ould and could,
 135 these XXXtie winters, though I would,
 I might not playe noe playe.

113 now redd I] I rede nowe W now] omit h 115 make]
 makes H, make great B 117 nece] nice Wr. 119 good] the
 good W after 120] (tunc ibunt ad Ioseph) H 122 here] omit
 W h have] omit D 123 woe is] woes Wr. 124 hathe] hase Wr.
 125 an] and B maye] maide h 126 accord] agree h 127 for]
 nor B W h yeares] wynters W 128 ne] ner W 129 hath]
 hase Wr. 130 hathe] has H B W h 132 syth] since Wr.
 135 these XXXtie] this XXX H B h Dm. winters] wynter H B
 h Dm. 136 playe noe playe] plea no leaie W noe] that H

alas! where might I lenge or lende?
for loth is me my wife to shende;
therefore from her will I wende
into some other place.

140

ffor to dyscreeve (her) will I nought,
feeblye though shee have wrought;
to leave her privelye is my thought,
that noe man knowe this case.

God lett never an ould man
take to wife a yonge woman,
ney seet his harte her upon,
lest hee beguyled bee.

145

ffor accorde ther maye be none,
ney the(y) may never bee at one,
and that is seene in manye one
as well as one mee.

150

Therefore have I slept awhile,
my wife that mee can thus beguyle,
I will gone from her, (for) yt to fyle
mee is loth, in good faye.

155

This case makes mee so heavye
that needes sleepe nowe muste I;
lord, one hir thow have mercye
for her misdeede to-daye.

160

Angelus: Joseph, lett bee thy feeble thought, [35 a]
take Marye, thy wife, and dred thee nought,

141 her] omit D 142 feeblye] fowlye W h 144 this] the B
146 to wife] hym H B W h 147 ney] ne H B, nay W h
150 ney] nor H B W h they] the D W 151 manye] manye a W h
153 have I] when I have W h 154 me can thus] thus can me
H B, can me thus W h 155 I] for I D W gone] goe H B
W h for] omit D yt] her W 158 nowe] after needes H
after 160] (tunc dormit) H

for wickedly shee hath not wrought,
but this is gode will.

165 The child that shee shall beare, Iwys,
of the holy ghost begotten yt is,
to save mankynd that did amisse,
and prophecye to fulfill.

Joseph: A! nowe I wott, lord, yt is soe,
170 I will noe man bee her foe,
but while I may one yearth goe
with her I will bee.

Nowe Christe is in our kynde light,
as the prophete before hight;
175 lord god, most of might,
with weale I worshipp thee.

[Scene 4]

Nuntius: Make rowme, lordinges, and give us waye,
and lett Octavian come and playe,
and Sybell, the sage, that well fayr maye.
180 to tell you of prophecye.

That lord that dyed on good fryday,
hee have you all, both night and daye.
farewell, lordinges, I goe my waye,
I may not lenger [abye.]

164 gode] Gods H B W h 166 begotten] gotten H yt] omit
H B W h 170 man] more H after 172] (Excitatus autem
Ioseph) H 174 prophete] prophetes H B, prophesye W h
before] yore H B h Dm. higt] beheigt H B h Dm. after 176]
(somno fecit, ut in . . . erat sibi angelus domini) H 177 Nun-
tius] messinger h 179 that] tha W fayr] fraye W 182
have] save B W 183 goe] must B 184 not] no H B W h
abye] abyde D H W h, bide B

Octavianus : I, preeved prince, most of powere, 185
 under heaven highest am I here,
 fayrest food to fight in fere ;
 no freake my face may flee.

all this world, withowten were,
 king, prynce, baron, batchlere, 190
 I may destroy in great dangere,
 through vertu of my degree.

My name Octavian called is,
 all me about full in my blys,
 for wholey all this world, Iwys, 195
 is readye at my owne will.

Noe man one mould darre doe amisse
 agaynst mee, I tell you this;
 May no man saye that ought is his,
 but my leave be thertyll. 200

ffor I halfe multiplyed more
 the Citty of Rome, sythe I was bore,
 then ever did any (me) before,
 syth I had this kingdome.

ffor what with streng(th) and strokes sore, 205
 leadinge lordshipp, lovely lore,
 all this world has bine yore
 tributarye unto Rome.

Segneurs tous si assembles [35 b]
 A mes probes estates, 210

185 powere] postie W 186 here] omit W 187 fayrest]
 the fayrest B foot] stooode B to fight] faightest W, to fraught B
 in] with B, omit W 194 all me about] at my aboue H 196
 owne] omit B 197 mould] liue W 199 may] ne H, nay B
 203 me] omit D 205 strength] strenght D strength and strokes]
 inverted in W 206 lordshipp] lordshipes Wr. 207 has] nowe
 hase H B W h 209 segneurs] segurrs Wr. assembles] asmeles
 Wr., arneles Dm. 210] omit h, combined with 212 W probes]
 proles H B h

Ice posse fayre lerment et leez,
et mette in languore.

215 Vous tous si prest ne sortes
de fayre intentes mavolentes,
car [je su] soveroyne ben sages,
et demande Emperoure.

220 Ieo si persone mille si able
leo su tent fayre et leable
en treasoroce ne treasagyle
mes de toyle plerunt.

Destret et sage su en counsell
Ami ou dame et ou pusele
declare et sauke mater frayle
un teell n'est paas uma.

225 King, [cayser], clarke, or knight,
sandens, senatours in sight,
princes, pryest(s), here nowe dight,
and present in this place—

211 Ice] Jeo Wr. 212] *omit* h 213 vous] *omit* Wr.
tous] toutes H B h Dm. ne sortes] me fortes W h 215 je
su] Jesu D H B W h 217—225] *omit* h 217 Ieo] Iay H B
h Dm. si able] seable W, si alle B 218 Ieo su tent fayre]
combined with 217 Wr. Ieo su] Iey su H h, Ieosu W, Iosice B,
leable] beable H h 219] *begins with* et leable *from* 218 Wr. en
treasoroce] entransorce W, en tresarois H h ne tresagyle] ne tres-
agait H h me creaca W 220 de toyle] dotole Wr. 221 destret
et sage *combined with* 220 Wr. su en] saen Wr., sout en B counsell]
comech W 222 ou dame] ondem Wr., ou dem Dm. 223 de-
clare] declaan W et sauke] sake et H h, sauk et B Dm., sanke
et Wr. 224 tell n'est] tellnest Wr. uma] un mame H h, vmaut
B, un Dm. um Wr. 225 cayser] Carsell H, coysell D B W h
or] and H knight] kinge Wr. 226 senatours] solitaryes W
227 pryests] pryest D, preistes H B h, prese W

peace, or here my truthe I plight,
I am the manfulst man of might, 230
take mynde on my manace.

All leedes in land bee at my likinge,
Castle, couquerour, and kinge
bayne be to do my byddyngge,
yt will non other bee. 235

Right as I thinke, soe (is all thinge),
for all the word dose my willinge,
and bayne bine when I bydd bringe
homage and feoaltye.

sythen I was lord, withowten lesse, 240
with my witt I can more increase
the empire here then ever it was,
as all this world yt wiste.

syth I was soverayne warre can cease,
and through this world now is peace, 245
for soe dreade a duke sate never on dayes
in Rome, that you may trust.

Therefore, as lord, nowe likes mee
to preeve my might and my postee,
for I will send about and see 250
how many heades I have.

All the world shall written bee,
great and small, in eych degree,

229 I plight] Iplight H B W h 230 manfulst] manliest W h
After 230 a blank in H 231 take] takes H B W h on] of
H B W h manace] mase W h 232 leedes] lordes W
234 be] bene H B h Dm do] omit Wr. 236 as] omit W h
is all thinge] must all bee D, moste it be W h 238 bine] omit
W bydd] did H 240—244] omit h 243 yt] is H
244 can cease] cleare can cease D, clean can cease H Wr. 248
nowe] omit B 249 preve] prove H B W h 250 about] and
about B 253 eych] his B

that dwell in shire or in citty,
 255 king, clarke, knight, and knave,
 Eych man one penye shall paye,
 therfore, my bedell, doe as I saye;
 in midstest the world, by anye waye,
 this gammon shall begine.

260 The folke of Jewes, in good faye,
 in myddest bine, that is noe naye,
 therefore thyder, daye by daye,
 and travayle or thow bline.

[36 a] Warne him that there is president,
 265 that this is fully myne intent
 that eych man appere present,
 his penye for to paye,

And by that penye, as well appent,
 knowledge to bee obedyente
 270 to Rome, by gift of such a rent,
 from that tyme after aye.

When this is done thus in Judye,
 that in the midstest of the world shalbe,
 to eych land, shire, and cyttye,
 275 to Rome make them soe thrall.

Warne them, boye, I commande thee,
 they doe the same, saye thus from mee,
 soe all this world shall witt that we
 Bine soveraygne of them all.

258 midstest] mydds H B h Dm., medeste Wr. 261 midstest
 mydds H B h Dm., medest Wr. 263 or] all B 264 there
 is] is there h 270 Rome] come Wr. gift] geiste Wr.
 271 aye] ever W 272 thus] thir Wr. 273 of] omit h, in B
 277 they] the H B W h thus] this H B W h

Have donne, boye, art thou not bowne? 280

Preco: All readye, my lorde, by [Mahoun,]
noe tayles tupp in all this towne
shall goe further, withowten fayle.

Octavianus: Boye, therfore, by my crowne,
Thow muste have thy warrysoun. 285
the highest horse besydes (B)[r]oughton
take thow for thy travell.

Preco: Graunt mercye, lord, perdye,
this hackney will well serve mee,
for a great lord of your degree 290
should ryde in such araye.

The bine hye in dignitye,
and alsoe high and swifte is hee;
therefore that reverans takes yee,
my deare lord, I you praye. 295

But your arrand shalbe donne anone,
first into Judye I will gone,
and sommon the people, everychone,
both shire and eke cyttie.

Octavianus: Boye, there bine ladyes manye one, 300
amonge them all chese thee one,
take the fayrest, or els none,
and freely I give her thee.

Primus Senatour: my lord Octavian, wee be sent
from all Rome, with good entent, 305

280 written in the margin of H 281 Mahoun] Mahounde D
Wr. mahound H B h Dm. 282 tayles tupp] so Wr., talls
tupp H h Dm., tuppe tayles B after 283] blank in H
284-295] omit W h 286 Broughton] boughton & D, Boughton H B
292 bine] lyve B 294 reverans] remanes B 296-300]
omit W But] omit h 297 will] wilbe B 299 both
shire] both in shire H eke] omit H 300 Octavianus] omit
H B bine] be H B W h manye] many a W 300-304] omit h
304 My] from my W h 305 good] full H

thy men there have eychone Iment
as god to honour thee;

[36b] and to that pointe we be assent,
poore and ryche in parlement;
320 for soe loved a lord, verament,
was never in this cyttye.

Secundus Senator: Yea, sicker, syr, ther will is this,
to honour thee as god, with blys,
for thow did never to them amysse
315 in worde, thought, ne deede.

(peace hath bene long and yet is,
no man in thy tyme lost ought of his,
therfore their will is now, Iwis,
to quite you this your meede.)

316 *Octavianus*: Welcome, my frendes, in good faye,
for you be baynable to my paye;
I thanke you all that ever I maye
the homage yee doe to mee;

320 But follye yt were, by manye a waye,
such soverayntyte for to assaye,
syth I must dye I wotte not what day,
to desyre such dignitye.

ffor of all flesch, blood, and bonne
325 made I am, borne of a womane,
and, sycker, other matter nonne
sheweth not right in mee;

neither of Iron, tree, ne stonne
am I not wrought, you wott eych one,

308 assent] sent H W h	312 sicker syr] seckerly B
315 ne] ner W h	315 a, b, c, d] omit D
nought H	315 b ought]
315 c now] so W h	315 d this] in H
neede H	meede]
317 baynable] penyble H,	welckome W h
of all] of H B, all the W h	324
325 made] man W h	328
ne] nor H B W h	329 am I] I ame B

and of my life moste parte is gone, 330
age shewes him soe in mee

and godhead askes in all thinge
tyme that hath noe beginninge,
ne never shall have endinge;
and none of this have I. 335

Wherfore, by verey prooffe shewinge,
though I bee highest worldly kinge,
of godhead have I noe knowinge;
This were unkynd(lie).

But yet enquire of this will wee 340
of hir that (hath) grace to see
thinges that afterward shalbe,
by ghoost of prophecye.

and after hir lore, by my lewtye!
discussinge this difficultye, 345
worke I, and take not more (on me)
then I am well worthye.

Sybbell, the sage, tell me this thinge,
for thow wytt hase, as (no) man livinge,
shall ever be any earthlye kinge 350
to passe mee of degree?

Sybbell: Yea, syr, I tell you, withowt leasinge, [37 a]
a bab borne shalbe, blys to bringe,

331 in me] I see H B W h Shewes] sheweth Wr. 332
thinge] things h 335 this] these H W h 337 bee]
omit H 339 This] it H W B h unkyndlie] unkynd D W h
340 of] if Dm. will wee] wilbe W 341 of] at H W B h
hath] hast D, has H B to see] for to see H B W h 344 lore]
lawe W h lewtye] bewtie W h 346 I] omit H B W h
not] no H B W h on me] and more D on] of h 349 hase]
hast H W B h no] not D 350 shall ever] shall ther ever B h
353 bab] barne H B W h borne shalbe] shall borne be H h,
shalbe borne W

the which (that) never (hade) beginninge,
ne never shal ended bee.

355

Octavianus: Sybbyll, I pray thee specially,
by sign thow would me certyfyne,
what tyme that lord so royallye
to raigne hee shal beginne.

360 *Sybyll speake tho*: Syr, I shall tell you witterlye
his signes when I see verelye,
for when hee comes, through his mercye
one mankynde hee will mynne.

Well I wott for soth, I-wys,
365 that god will bring mankinde to blys,
and send from heaven, leeves well this,
367 his sonne, our savyour.

(Ihesu Christ, nothing amis,
called he shall be and is,
overcome the Divill and his countise
and be our Conquerour.)

368 But what tyme, syr, in good faye,
that hee will come, can I non saye;
370 Therfore in this place I will praye
to greatest god of might.

and yf I see ought to your paye
ghostlye by anye waye,
warne you I shall anon this daye,
375 and shew it in your sight.

354 that] shal D hade] hase D H B h 355 ended bee]
endinge have W, endinge be h 356 specially] especiallye
W h 360 *Sybyll speake tho*] omit H B W h Syr] yea W h
362 when] then B 363 mynne] wyne B 364 for]
and Wr. 366 leves] leve Wr. 367a, b, c, d] omit D.
367c overcome] to overcome W, and overcome h countise]
Coyntoice H B 369 non] not H B W h 370 I will]
will I H B W 372 to] in W h 374 anon] omit W h,
after 'you' B

Tunc orat sibilla

et

[Scene 5]

dicat preco alta voce:

Preco: Peace I byd kinge and knight,
men and weomen, and eych wight,
tyll I have tould that I have tight;
stonde styll, both stronge and stoute!

My lord, Octavyan, myche of might,
commandes you should be ready dight,
trybute hee wyll have in height
of all this world (about).

380

Hee wyll have written eych countree,
castle, shyre, and eke cyttye,
men and women, leewe you mee,
and all that beo therin.

385

a penye of eych man have will hee,
the valewe of ten pences hit shalbee,
To knowledge that hee has soverayntee
fullye of all [mankyn].

390

Josephe: A! lord! what doth this man now here?
poore men's weale ys ever in were.
I wott by this boster's bere
that trybute I muste paye.
and for greate age and noe powere,
I wan noe good this seaven yere,
nowe comes the kinge's messenger
to gett all that hee maye.

395

[37b]

after 375, st. dir.] in margin H 379 stonde] stall B
styll] stiffe Wr. stronge] still Wr. stiffe Dm. H B stoute]
stronge Wh 381 should be] shalbe h 383 aboute] above D
385 eke] each H 389 pences] pence H B W h 391 mankyn]
mankynd D H B W h 393 weale] so Wr., waile H B h Dm.
394 bosters] bostles H 396 age] ayde h.

400

with this axe that I beare,
 this perce(r), and this naugere,
 and hammer, all in fere,

I have wonnen my meate.

405

Castle, towre, ney riche manere
 had I never in my power,
 but as a symple carpenter
 with these what I might gett.

410

If I have store [of] any thinge,
 that must I paye unto the kinge,
 but yett I have a likinge,—

The angell to mee towlde:

415

Hee that should man out of bale bringe
 my wife had in her keapinge,
 that seemes all good to my likinge
 and makes mee more bowlde.

A! leeffe syr! tell mee, I thee praye,
 shall poore as well as rych paye?
 my faye, syr, I hoope naye;
 that were a wonders wronge.

420 *Preco*: Good man, I warne thee, in good faye,
 to Bethlem to take the waye
 lest thow in danger falle to-daye,
 if that thow bee to longe.

Joseph: Nowe syth yt may non other bee,
 425 Marye, sister, now hye wee!
 an oxen I will take with mee,
 that there shalbe soulede.

401 percer] perces D naugere] maugere B 402 and] axe
 H B, and a h, a W 404 riche] omit W h 407 these]
 this B W what] that H 408 of] omit D h, now H B W
 412 shold] omit W h 418 my] by my W h 419 wonders]
 wonderous B W h 423 that] omit W

the silver of him, soe mote I thee,
shall fynde us in that cyttye,
and paye tribute for thee and mee,
for therto wee bine howlde.

430

[Scene 6]

Maria: A! lord! what may this signifye?
Some men I see glad and merye,
and some syghinge and sorye
wherfore so ever yt bee.

435

Syth gode sonne, man to forbye,
is commen through his great mercye,
methinke that man should kindlye
be glad that sight to see.

Angelus: Marye, gode mother dere,
the tokeninge I shall thee lere,
the commen people, as thow seest here,
are glad as they well maye,

440

[38 a]

That they shall see of Abraham's seede
Christe come to helpe them in there neede; 445
Therefore the(y) ioyen, withowten dreede,
for to abyde this daye.

The morneinge men, take this in mynde,
are Jewes that shalbe put behinde,
for they passed out of kinde

450

through Christ at his comminge.

429 that] this H 431 bine] be Wr. after 431] (tunc
Ioseph ligabit bovem ad caudam asinae, et colliget Maryam super
Asinam, et cum ad stabulam pervenerit, dicat Maria) H 434
syghinge] all sickinge W 436 Gode] Gods H B W h
sonne] sonne came D H B W h 437 is commen] comon is B
439] that sight full gladlie for to see B 440 gode] Gods
H B W h 442 as] that H 443 they] the Wr. 444
seede] blood seede H 446 therefore] wherfore W they]
the D Wr. joyen] joye W 450 they] it H, the Wr. passed]
passes H Dm. h, passeth Wr., haue passed B of] of their H

ffor they shall have noe grace to knowe
 that god for man shall light soe lowe;
 for shame on them that sone shall showe,
 therefore they bine mourninge.

455

[Scene 7]

Joseph: Marye, suster, sooth to saye,
 harbour I hope gett wee ne may,
 for great lordes of stowte arraye
 occupye this cyttye.

460

Therefore wee muste, in good faye,
 lye in this stable tyll it bee daye;
 to make men meeke, leeve I maye,
 show him here will he.

Maria: Helpe me downe, my leeffe fere,
 for I hope my tyme bee neere;
 Christe in this stable that is here,
 I hope borne wilbe.

465

Tunc Joseph accipiet Mariam in brachia sua.

Joseph: Come to me, my sweete dere,
 the treasure off heaven, withowten were,
 welcome in full meeke manere;
 him hope I for to see.

470

Tunc statuet Maria inter bovem et asinam.

Marye, sister, I will assaye
 to gett too middwives, yf I maye,

452 shall] should B they] the Wr. 455 bine] be H B W h
 they] the Wr. 457 wee] yf we B ne] nay H, non W h,
 (in h before gett), omit B 459 occupye] do occupye W h
 cyttye] plase W 460 therfore] wherfore Wr. 463 he]
 I B 464 downe] downe then H B leefe] life H B h Dm.,
 leffe Wr. fere] dere B, in fere H 465 bee] is H after
 467 Tunc Joseph etc.] after 470 in H 473 too] II H B W h

for though in thee bee god verey,
 and commen agaynst kynde,
 ffor usage here of this citty,
 and manner's sake, as thinkes mee,
 too I will fetch anon to thee,
 If I may any fynde.

475

[Scene 8]

Joseph ad obstetrices.

[38b]

Weomen, god you save and see,
 is yt your will to goe with mee?
 my wife ys commen into this cyttye
 with child, and tyme is nere.

480

Helpes here nowe, for charytee,
 and bee with her tyll day bee,
 and your travayle, soe mote I thee,
 I shall paye you right here.

485

Tebell: All readye, good man, in good faye,
 wee will doe all that ever wee maye,
 for too such middwives, I dare well saye,
 are not in this cyttye.

490

Salome: Come, good man, leade us awaye,
 by gode helpe, or hit bee day,
 that we can good, thy wife shall saye,
 and that thow shalt well see.

495

475 and commen] a-commen H W h 477 and] as H W h
 after 479 Joseph ad obstetrices] omit H ad] omit W h 482
 into] to H 483 nere] nye W 484 helpes] helpe Wr.
 486 mot] moche B 488 Tebell] Tebell a midwief B 490
 well] omit W 492 Salome] Salome the other midwyffe B
 awaye] the waye H B W h 493 by gode] with Gods
 H B W h

[Scene 9]

Joseph: Loe! Marye! harte! brought I have here
 too middwives, for the manere,
 to bee with thee, my darlinge deare,
 tyll that hit be daye.

500 *Maria*: Syr, the(y) be welcome, withowt were,
 but god will worke of his powere
 full sonne for mee, my lefe fere,
 as best is nowe and aye.

Tunc paululum acqui(e)scunt.

A! *Joseph*! tydinges aright!
 505 I have a sonne, a sweete wight,
 lord, thanked bee thow, full of might,
 for preeved is thy postee!

Payne felte I non this night,
 but right soe as hee in mee light,
 510 commen hee is here in this sight,
 gode sonne, as thow maye see.

Tunc stella apparebit.

Joseph: Lord, welcome, sweete Jesu,
 thy name thow haddest or I thee knew;
 nowe leeve I the angell's worde is trewe,
 515 that thow arte a cleane maye.

ffor thow arte commen man's blys to brewe
 to all that thy lawe will shewe;

496 hart] omit h, sweete harte W brought] after 'have' in H
 497 too] II H B W h 500 they] the D Wr. 502 lefe]
 life H h Dm., leiffe Wr. lyffys B 503 aye] ever W ac-
 quiescent] acquiescent D, acquiescant H 506 full] much
 H B W h 508 payne] penance H non] before 'felte'
 H B W h 510 hee is] is he H this] my H B W h
 511 gode] Gods H B W h thow] you H maye] maist B
 514 worde is] wordes H B W h 517 lawe] saw H

nowe man's joy beginns to new,
and noye to passe awaye.

Maria: Lord, blessed most thow bee
that simple borne art, as I see,
to preeve the divell of his postee
commen thow arte to-daye,

520

[39a]

diuersorye is non for thee,
therefore thy sweete bodye free
in this cratch shall lye with lee,
and lapped abowt with haye.

525

Tebell: A! dere lord, heaven kinge,
that this is a marvelous thinge!
withowten teene or travaylinge
a fayre sonne shee hasse one.

530

I dare well saye for sooth, I-wys,
that cleane mayden this woman ys,
for shee hath borne a chyld with blyss,
Soe wiste I never none.

535

Salome: Be styll, Tebell, I thee praye,
for that is false in good faye,
was never woman cleane maye,
and chyld withowt man.

But never the latter, I will assaye
whether shee bee cleane maye,
and know it if I cann.

540

*Tunc Salome tentabit tangere Mariam in sexu secreto, et
statim arentur manus eius, et clamando dicit:*

518 beginns] beginneth Wr. 519 noye] ioye W h 521
art] is B 523 thow arte] art thou B 524 diuersorye]
fyne clothes W, fyne lynnen h 527 and] all B, and be W h
539 and chyld] and had child H B 541 cleane] a cleane H B
after 541] no MS. indicates omission of a line. 542 it] omit
h Dm. after 542 Tunc Salome etc.]: in sexu] sēpu Wr.
arentur] arenent H, arement B h Dm., arescent Wr. manus]
manibus h dicit] dicat Wr.

Alas! alas! alas! alas!
 mee is betyde an evyll case!
 545 my hande bee dryed up in this place,
 that feelinge none have I.

Vengeance on mee ys nowe light,
 for I would tempte godde might;
 550 alas that I came here to-night,
 to suffer such anoye!

Tunc apparet stella, et veniet angelus (dicens) ut sequitur:

(Angelus): Woman, beseech this childe of grace,
 that hee forgive thee the trespasse,
 and ere thou goe owt off this place
 holpen thou may bee.

555 This miracle that now thou seest here
 is of gode owne powere,
 to bringe mankinde owt of dangere,
 and mende them, leewe thou mee.

Salome: Ah! sweete child, I aske mercye,
 560 for thy mother's love, Marye,
 though I have wrought wretchedlye,
 sweete childe, forgive yt me!

Ah! blessed bee god! all whole am I.
 nowe leewe I well and sickerlye
 565 that god is commen man to forbye,
 and thou, lord, thou art hee!

543 and 544] written as one line in H, as are 545 and 546, 547
 and 548, 549 and 550. 544 evyll] sorye H B W h 545
 hande] handes H B W h 547 nowe] omit W h 548 godde]
 Gods H B W h 549 tonight] this night h 550 anoye] a
 noye H B W h after 550 dicens] omit D 551 Angelus]
 omit D woman] wemen Wr. beseech] before B 552 the]
 thy H B W h 553 ere] ever W 554 may bee] shalbe W
 555 now] after 'thou' in B h, after 'myracle' in W 556 Gode]
 Godes H B W h 561 wretchedlye] wickedly h 564 sickerlye]
 seckeretlye Dm. 566 first thou] omit W, now B

[Scene 10]

Expositor: Loe! lordinges all, of this miracle here [39b]

freere Bartholemewe, in good mannere,
beareth wytnes, withowten were,
as played is you beforne.

570

and other myracles, yf I maye,
I shall rehearse, or I goe awaye,
that befell that ilke daye
that Jesus Christ was borne.

Wee reade in cronicles express:
somytyme in Rome a temple was,
made of soe greate ryches
that wonder was witterlye.

575

ffor all thinges in hit, leewe you mee,
was silver, gould, and rych perlye;
thryd parte the world, as read wee,
that temple was worthy.

580

Of eych province, that booke mynde mase,
ther godde Image sett there was,
and eych on abowt his necke has
a silver bell hanginge,

585

And on his brest written also
the lande name and gode too,
and sett was alsoe, in middest of tho,
god of Rome right as a kinge.

590

567 all] omit H B 568 freere] Free Wr. 571 and] an
B W h. myracles] myracle B W h 573 ilke] same W h
577 soe] such W h 580 perlye] perye H B, pearle W,
araye h 581 thryd] the thirde W 584 sett there] ther
set B W h there] omit H 585 on] omit B 588 name]
names B W gode too] gods both two H B W h 589 was]
wa B, omit W h middest] myddes H B h Dm., medeste Wr.
of tho] altho H 590 Rome right] renowne H.

About the house alsoe mevinge there
 a man on horse stood, men to steare,
 and in his hand hee bare a spere,
 all pure dispituously.

595 That horse and man was made of brasse,
 torninge abowte that Image was;
 save certayne preystes, ther might non passe,
 for devyll's phantasie.

600 But when that any lande with battell
 was readye Rome for to assayle,
 The gode (Image), withowten fayle,
 of that land range his bell,

and torted his face dispituouslye
 to god of Rome, as reade I,
 605 in tokeninge that (they) were readye
 for feyghting freshe and felle.

The Image, alsoe, aboue standinge,
 when the bell beneathe begane to ringe,
 torted him, all sharpely shewinge
 610 towarde that lande his spere.

and when they see this tokeninge,
 Rome ordayned, withowt tareinge,
 an oste to keepe there comminge,
 longe or they came there.

615 And on this manere, sothelye,
 by arte of neagromancye,
 all the world, witterlye,
 to Rome were made to lowt.

591 alsoe] was H mevinge] meaninge Wr. 594 all pure]
 a pewer h 599 when that] *omit* that H h 601 Image] I
 may D, I meane W h 605 tokeninge] token B they] there
 D Wr. were] wente Wr. 606 for] to H B W h 607 aboue]
 about H 609 torted] torninge W him] him self B 611
 see] saw H B h Dm., see Wr. they] the Wr. 613 comminge]
 torninge Wr. 615 on] in H B W h

and that temple there, dowbtles, [40a]
was called therfore the temple of peace, 620
that through (t)his sleyt battell can cease
throughowt the worlde abowte.

But hee (that) coyntly this worke caste,
asked the devyll, or hee paste,
howe lange that temple hit should laste, 625
that hee there can buylde.

The devill answered suttily,
and sayd yt should last sickerlye,
untill a mayden wemmostlye
had conceyued a chylde. 630

They hard and beleeved therfore
yt should endure for evermore,
but that tyme that Christ was bore
hit fell downe soone in hye.

Of which howse is seene this daye 635
somewhat standing, in good faye,
but noe man dare well goe that waye,
for feendes' phantasye,

That daye was seene verament
Three sonnes in the firmament, 640
and wonderslye together went
and torned into one.

The ox, the asse, ther they were lent,
honored Christe in theyr intent,
and moe miracles as wee have ment 645
to playe right here anon.

Tunc ostendit stellam et venit Sibilla ad Imperatorem.

619-623] omit h 619 and that] and in that D B W
621 that] omit W this] his D Wr. 623 that] to D, twoo
B h Dm, so Wr. coyntly] cunninglye Wr. 625 longe] omit W
hit] there h 629 wemmostlye] wemmouslie H B h, womanlye W
631 they] the Wr. 637 well goe] goe well H B h Dm.,
goe Wr 640 three] 3 H B W h 643 were] be Wr.
after 646 ostendit] ostendant H, ostendent B, ostendunt W h

[Scene 11]

Sibilla: Syr Emperour, god thee save and see!

(looke up on height after mee);

I tell you sicker that borne ys hee

650 that passeth thee of (power).

651 That baron thow seest that great shalbee,

(as none lyke him in any degree,)

652 to passe all kinges and eke thee

that borne are or ever were.

Octavian: A! Sibbel, this is a wondrous sight,

655 for yonder I see a mayden bright,

a yonge chylde in here armes clight,

a bright crosse in his head.

honour I wyll that sweete wight

with incense, throughowt all my might,

660 for that reverence is most right,

if that yt bee thy reade.

Incense bringe, I command, in hye,

to honour this child, kinge of mercye.

should I bee god? nay, nay! witterlye,

665 great wronge, I wys, yt were.

[40b] ffor this childe is more worthye

then such a thowsande as am I,

therffore to god, moste mightye,

Incense I offer here.

*Tunc angelus cantabit "Hæc est ara Dei Cæli," fiat [nota]
secundum arbitrium agentis.*

647-650] order of these lines much confused; all MSS. put 648 after 650, in H the original order is indicated by A C D B in another hand that also corrected a former 'postye' (650) to 'power'. 648 up on] up an H 649 sicker] trulye W h 650 power] postee D B W h, H also reads thus originally (cf. under 647-650). 651 that great] so great H, that so great B, greate W h 651a] omit D B W h, found only in margin of H 653] that is borne or ever shalbe W are] was h 659 throughowt] through H B, with W h all] omit H after 669 hic] hec Wr. est] este Wr. Cæli] Cela Wr. fiat] fiant W h nota] notam D H B W h

A! Sybbell, heres not thow this songe? 670
 my members all yt gooth amonge;
 Joy and blys makest my harte stronge,
 to heare this melody.

Sy(c)ker, yt may non other bee,
 but this childe is prince of postye, 675
 and I his subiect, as I see;
 he is most worthye.

Sybbell: Yea, syr, you shall leeve well this,
 somewhere one yearth borne he is,
 and that hee comes for man's blys 680
 his tokeninge this can shewe.

Reverence him, I read, I wys,
 for other god there none yis;
 that hopes otherwise doth amys,
 but him for Christe to knowe. 685

Octavyan: Syr senators, goes home anone,
 and warne my men everychone,
 that suche worshipp I must forgonne
 as they would doe to me.

but this child worshipp eych mane, 690
 with full harte, all that you (can).
 for hee is worthy to leeve upon,
 and that nowe I (well) see.

(*Senator*): A! lord, whatever this may bee,
 this is a wondrous sight to see, 695

670 not thow] thou not H B 672 makest] makes H B
 Dm. h, maketh Wr. stronge] full strong H 674-678] omit B
 674 sycker] syker D, trulye W, surely h 678 you shall]
 thou shalt B W h 680 comes] commeth Wr. 681 token-
 inge] token W H 684 that] he that W h hopes] hopeth Wr.
 otherwise] otherwayes H doth] he doth H B h Dm. 686 Syr]
 sires B W h 687 everychone] every one H, every
 echone B W h 691 can] omit D 693 nowe I] I now W h
 well] wyll D H B 694 Senator] omit D B W h A] and W h
 695 wondrous] wonders H

for in the starre as thinkes mee,
I see a full fayre maye.

Syr, shall this child passe yee
of worthiness and dignitee?

700 such a lord, by my lewtye,
I wend never had binne.

Expositor: Lordinges, that this is verey,
by verey sygne knowe yee maye,
705 for in Rome, in good faye,
there as this thinge was seené,

Was buyld a church in noble araye,
in worshipp of Marye, that sweete maye,
that yett lastes untill this daye,
as men know that there have binne.

710
[41a] and for to have full memorye
of the angells' melody,
and of this sight, sickerlye,
the Emperoure ther knewe,

The church is called St. Marye,
715 the surname is aracæli,
that men knowe nowe well therby
that this was fully trewe.

another miracle I fynd also
at Christes byrth, that fell thoo,
720 when Salome attempted to knowe
whether shee was a maye.

696 thinkes] thinketh Wr. 698] 'primus Senator' above line
in W 700 lewtye] bewtie Dm. 701 binne] bene none
H B W h 703 verey sygne] signes true B 705 this
thinge] thes thingis W h 708 lastes] lasteth Wr. untill]
unto H W h this] omit B 715 aracæli] Ara Cæli H B in
a racali W, in ra cali h 716 that] tha Dm. now] omit Wr.
719 at] a Wr. that] omit B W h fell thoo] fell right tho
H B W h

Hyr hand roted, as you have seene,
 wherby you may take good teene
 that unbeleeffe is a fowle sinne,
 as you have seen within this playe.

725

Finis pagina sexta.

725 within] in Wr. playe] place W h pagina sexta]
 paginæ sextæ H W h, *omit* B deo gracias W h, W *adding* per
 me Georgi bellin 1592, Come lorde Iesu Come quickly; h *adds*
date 1600. *after* Finis pagina sexta] John Egerton Esqr. D
 (*in a later hand*).

THE PAYNTERS' PLAYE:

INCIPET PAGINA SEPTIMA DE PASTORIBUS.

Prim(us) Pastor: On wouldes I walked (full) wylde,
 under buskes my bowre to b(u)ylde,
 from styffe stormes my sheepe to shilde,
 my seemely wedders to save,

5 ffrom comlye Conwaye unto clyde
 under tylde them to hyde.
 a better shepperd on no syde
 noe yearthlye man may have.

10 ffor with walkynge werye I have mee wrought,
 besydes the Suche my sheepe I sought;
 my taytfull tuppes are in my thought,
 them to save and heale

ffrom the shrewde scabbe [that] sought,
 or the rotte, yf yt were wrought,
 15 if the cough had them caught,
 of hyt I could them heale.

Loe! here bee my herbes saffe and sownde,
 wyssly wrought for everye (w)ounde,—

The paynters playe] The paynters and glasiers H Dm., The
 paynters and the glasiers Playe Wr., *after the Latin in H*
 Incipet] incipit B W h, *omit H de pastoribus*] de pastoribus
 greges pascentibus H primus pastor] *omit B, primo pastor (as*
in all other places) D

1 I] *before* have B W h full] *omit D* 2 buskes] bushes W h
 buylde] bylde D 5 clyde] glide H 6 under] on the H
 tylde] hilles B 9 wrought] thoughte B W h 11 tayt-
 full] tytefull H, toylefull B, taleful W, taylefull h 12 save]
 have B 13 that] yt D, it H B W h 16 of hyt] of yf W
 18 wounde] mounde D

the[y] woulde a whole man bringe to grownde
within a little [throwe].

20

Of henbane and horehounde,
(r)ybbe, radishe, and egermonde,
which bee my (h)erbes, save and sounde,
medled on a Rowe.

Here be more herbes, I tell yt you,
I shall rekken them on a Rowe,
fynter-fanter and fetterfowe,
and alsoe penye-wrytte.

25

This is all that I knowe,
for be yt wether or be yt yoo,
I shall heale the(m) on a rowe
cleane from theyre hurte.

30

Here is tarre in a pott,
to heale them from the rott;
well I can and well I wott
the talgh from them take.

35

And yf sworne yt had the thursse,
yett shall the talgh be in my purse,
and the sheape never the worse
to renne on the rake.

40

But noe fellowshippe here have I,
save myselfe, alone, in good faye,

[42a]

19 they] the *all MSS.* 20 throwe] whyle *all MSS.*,
22 rybbe] tybbe D, tibbie B, bybbey W h, ribbie H 23 herbes]
merbes D 25] preceded by l. 27 in h 27 and] omit H
28 wrytte] Professor Zupitza suggests 'wurt', for the sake of the
rime; it seems scarcely necessary 31 heale them] them
heale W them] the D rowe] thraw H 32 from] of
H B h theyre] the B 34 to] for to H from] of H
36 talgh] talch (possibly calch) H, talgh h, caughe W, taytinge
B take] to take H 37-41] omit W h 38 yett shall
the] omit B after 40] stage direction (Tunc ad sedem) H

therefore after one faste will I crye,
but first will I drinke, if I maye.

hic potat prim(us) pastor.

45 Howe! harvye! howe!
drive thy sheep to the lowe!
thow may not here excepte I blowe,
as ever have I heale!

hic flabit primus pastor.

Secund(us) pastor: Yt is no shame for mee to shewe
50 how I was set for to sowe
with the fether of a crowe,
a clowt upon my heele.

sitt downe.

ffelowe, now be we well mett,
(one thing) methinkes us needes:
55 had wee Tudd heere by vs sett,
(then) might wee sitte and feede vs.

Prim(us) pastor: yea, to feede vs frendly in fay,
(now) might we have our service.
crye thow must lowd, by this daye!

60 Tudd is deafe and may not well here vs.

after 44] stage direction (tunc potet) H potat] potet W 45 har-
vye] Haroye all MSS howe] how how all MSS 46 thy]
the H 47 excepte] but if H 48 heale] feale H, fey
Professor Zupitza after 48 stage direction] (Tunc flat cum
Cornu et reddit: 'Aho' 10.0. Tunc venit secundus gerens plumam
cornicis cum vestis parte veteris.) H after hic flabit primus
pastor h adds in margin Et sittes down; B and W add Sitt downe.
49 no] not H B h Dm. me] omit W h Secundus] always
written either Scdo, or Secundo in D 50 set] taught h for]
omit W sowe] loe H W after 52 sitt downe] omit H, in-
serted after hic flabit etc. (after 48) B W h 53 be we] we
be H B W h 54 one thing] and though D B W h 56 then]
them D 57 pastor] omit H before this line H reads: (tunc
humili voce: 'Howe, Tud, tud') 58 now] how D Wr. ser-
vice] service aye W h 60 may] omit W after 60] H
omits this stage direction, but cf. l. 57

Secund(us) pastor vocat submissa voce:

How! Tudd! come for thy fathers kyn!

Prim(us) pastor: Nayye! faye! thy voyce is wonders dym.
why! knowys thow not him?

ffye, man, for shame!

Call him 'Tudd, Tybbys sonne,'
and then wyll the shrewe come,
for, in good fayth, yt is his wonne
to love well his damys name.

65

Secund(us) pastor: How, Tudd, Tybbys sonne!

Tertius pastor: Syr, in fayth, nowe I come,
for yett have I not all donne
that I have to done.

70

To seethe salve for our sheepe,
and, lest my wiffe should yt weete,
with great gravell and greete

75

I scowre (an) ould panne.

Hemlocke and hayriffe,—take keepe!—
with tarre beyste must bene all tamed,
Penyegrasse and butter for fatt sheepe;
for this salve am I not ashamed.

80

Ashamed am I not to shewe
no poynt that longeth to my crafte,
noe better—that I well knowe —
in land is nowhere la(f)te.

[42b]

61] H has heading Secundus 62 Nayye] may B faye]
fye H wonders] wondrous H, wonderous Wr. after 64]
stage direction (tunc vocat voce canora, ut antea.) H in margin
69 pastor] omit H 70 pastor] omit H 71 all] half H
72 done] doe H B W h to] for to H 73 our] my h
76 an] and D 78 tarre beyst] tarboyst H B W h must
bene all tamed] bene to me all good H all] omit W h 80 for]
of H 82 that] to B longeth] longes Wr. 84 lafte]
laste D

85 ffor, good men, this is not vnknown
 to husbands that benne here abowt
 that eych man muste (to his wife bowne),
 and commonly for feare of a clowte.
 Thus for clowtes now care I,
 90 all ys for feare of our [dame-kynn,]
 now wyll (I) caste my ware hereby,
 and hye faste that I were at Hankynn.
 Hankynn, hold up thy hand and have mee,
 that I were on height there by thee.

95 *Prim(us) pastor*: Gladly, syr and thow would bee by me,
 for loth is me to denye thee.

Secund(us) pastor: Nowe sythen god hath gathered vs
 together,

with good harte I thanke him of his grace.
 welcome be thow, well fayre wedder!

100 Tudd, will we shape vs to some solace?

Tertius pastor: [Yea], solace would best be seene,
 that we shape vs to our supper,
 for meate and drinke, well I deeme,
 to eych deede is most dere.

105 *Prim(us) pastor*: Lay forth eych man, i-lych,
 what he hath lafte of his liverye;
 And I will put forth my pyche,
 with my parte, firste of vs all three.

ffor] for to W 86 bene] be Wr. 87 to his wife bowne]
 bowe to his wife D 89 thus] this Wr. 90 our] omit H
 dame-kynn] dame kynne B, dame kenye W h dame keynn D
 91 I] omit D 94 on] on a H 95 pastor] omit H bee
 by] ban H 96 is me] me is H W h, I ame B 97 pastor]
 omit H sythen] seinge Wr. 99 wedder] wether H, weither W,
 weather h 101 Yea] Yeg H, omit D B W h 103 deeme]
 wene W h 104 dede] man H 105 pastor] omit H
 eych man i-lych] I ech man besech B i-lych] alyche H W h
 107 put] first put H B

Secund(us) pastor: and such store as my wife had,
 in your sight soone shall you see, 110
 at our beginninge vs to glade,
 for in good meate ther is much glee.
 here is bredd this day was bacon,
 onyons, garlycke, and leekes,
 butter that bought was in Blacon, 115
 and greene cheese that will greese well your
 cheekes.

Tertius pastor: And here ale of Halton I have,
 and what meate I had to my hyer;
 A puddinge may noe man deprave,
 and a Jannock of Lancastershyre. 120
 Loe! here a sheepes head sowsed in ale,
 and a gr(o)yne to laye on the greene,
 And sowre milke my wife had (on sale)—
 a noble supper as well is seene.

Prim(us) pastor: Nowe will I cast of my cloacke, 125
 and put out parte of my liverye, [43a]

109 pastor] omit H 111 to] for to H B W h 114 leekes]
 lyckes B, lyke H, leikes W 115 was] before 'bought' B
 116 well] omit H B W h 117 pastor] omit H 118 what]
 hott B h, whotte W 119 a] and a H 120 Lancaster-
 shyre] Lancashyre H B W h 122 groyne] grayne D
 123 had] hath h on sale] ordeyned D B W h after 124] H
 inserts the following eight lines:

Primus pastor: and as it is well sene, ye shall see
 and what somewhat I have in my sacke:
 a piggs foote I have here, pardye!
 and a panch clout in my packe.
 A womb clout, fellowes, now have I,
 a lyver as is no lak,
 a chitterling boyled shall be.
 this burden I beare on my backe.

B leaves a space blank after 124.

126 put] pull H B

put owt that I save in my poacke,
and a pigges foote from puddinges purye.

Tertius pastor: Abyde, fellowes, and yee shall see here
130 this hott meate [that we shall hend],
Jambons and other good meate in fere,
a puddinge with a pricke in ende.

Prim(us) pastor: my sottchell to shake out,
to sheppardes am I not ashamed;
135 and this tonge pared rownd aboute,
with my teeth yt shalbe atamed.

Tunc commedent, et dicat prim(us) pastor:
Byd me doe gladly, and I thee,
for by god here is good grawsinge.
Come eate with vs, god of heaven hye,
140 but take noe heede though ther be noe howsinge.

Secundus pastor: Howsinge ennoughe have wee here,
while that wee have heaven over our hedde(s).
Now to weete our mouthes tyme were,
this flackett will I tame, if thow reade vs.

145 *Tertius pastor*: And of this bottell nowe will I bibbe,
for here is bowles of the best,

127 put] pull H B, and put W save] have H B W h 128 pig-
ges] gygges W, gygge h 129 pastor] omit W 130 that
we shall hend] we shall it hend H, we serven yt here D B,
serveid here W h 131 meate] omit H Jambons] Gammons Wr.
132 in] in the H B W h 133 pastor] omit H my] and that
is in my H 135 and this] this Oxe H 136 with my
teeth] for your tooth H, with my tonge W atamed] tamed B h
after 136 et dicat etc.] omit H 137-140] omit W 138 by
god] surelie H 139] Sit downe by me h hye] hie hie B
140 and] but B h ther] here H B h 141 Secundus pastor]
omit W pastor] omit H 142 that] omit H B h Dm.
heddes] hedde D 143 were] it were H 144 flackett]
flagette W h, flaggen H 145 pastor] omit H and] Nowe H
nowe] omit H bibbe] bibble B W h, fele H 146 bowles]
but H B W h

such lickour makes men to live,
this game may noewhere be leste.

Prim(us) pastor : ffellowes, nowe our bellyes be full,
thinke we on him that keepes our flockes; 150
blowe thy horne and call after Trowle,
and bydd him somme of our byttlockes.

Secund(us) pastor : Well sayd, Hankyn, by my soothe,
for that shrewe, I suppose, vs seekes,
my horne to lille I shall not lesse 155
tyll that lad have some of our leekes.

Tertius pastor : Leekes to his liverye is likinge,
such a lad nowhere in land is.
blowe a note for that meetinge,
whyle that horne nowe in thy hand ys. 160

Primus pastor : With this horne I shall make a hooe, [43b]
that hee and all heaven shall here,
Yonder lad that sittes on a lowe
the lowd of this horne shall here.

Tunc cantabit, et dicat Garcius :
Good lord, look on mee, 165
and my flocke here, as the(y) fed have;
on this wold walke wee,
are no men here that (me wald have).

147 men] me W h 148 noewhere] no way H B leste]
lost B H h, lefte W 149 pastor] omit H 150 flockes]
sheepe H 151 call] blowe W 153 pastor] omit H
154 vs seekes] seeke us H B, seekes us W h 155 lille]
bylle B h, tilt H, blowe W lesse] lette W 157 pastor]
omit H likinge] to your lyking H 158 nowhere in land] in
land nowhere H 159 meetinge] mytting H B W h
160 nowe] omit H 161 pastor] omit H 163 sittes] still
is B 164 lowt] lowde W h shall] he shall H B after
164 cantabit] cantant H dicat Garcius] venit Gartius H, dicat
Trowle B W h 165] H has heading : Gartius 166 here]
omit H they] the D Wr. fed] foode H 167 walke wee]
walke we woe W, walkinge wee h 168 me wald have] so H,
noe waye D B h, maye W

All is playne, perdai,
 170 therfore, sheepe, we mon goe
 noe better may bee
 of beast that blood and bonne have.
 Wotte I not day or night
 necessaryes that to me beelongen:
 175 tarboyte and tarboll,—
 yee shall here,—
 nettle, hemlock, and butter abydinge,
 and my good dogge, dottynolle,
 that is nothing cheesse of his chydinge.
 180 yf any man come mee bye,
 And would wytt which waye beste were,
 my legge I lifte up whereas I lye,
 and wishe him the waye easte and west-where.
 And I rose where I laye,
 185 me would thinke that travell lost;
 for kinge ne duke, by this daye,
 Ryse I will not, but take my rest here.
 Nowe will I sitt here adowne,
 and pippe at this pott like a pope;
 190 would god that I were downe
 harmeles, as I hastelye hope,

169 playne] plaine plaine H 170 we mon goe] mon we
 good have H 171 may] then these H 172 of beast]
 added to preceding line Dm. beast] beastes H B W h 174 bee-
 longen] needen H B, ne done W h 175] you shall here
 sone see in sight of small hannes that to me neden H 176]
 ye shall see heare W h Tarboist, tarboyle and nettle H (ed. *Deim-*
ling) 176 and 177] written as one line in H B h Dm.
 177 nettle] in H added to preceding line. 181 beste were]
 were best W h 182 whereas] where H, as B W h 183 easte]
 by east H where] omit W 184 where] when H B W h
 185 me] I W h lost] best were H 187 Ryse] Nay H
 here] omit W 188] now will I sett me adowne H Nowe
 here sitte downe I will W, Nowe here adowne sitt I will h
 189-190] omit W 191] before 189 in h

Noe man drinke here shall,
 save myself, the devyll of the sope.
 All this lotte I sett at little—
 nay, yee lads, sett I not by yee—
 for you have I manye a fowle fitt,
 thow fowle filth, though thow flytt, I defye thee!

195

Prim(us) pastor: Trowle, take tent to my talkinge,
 for thy tooth here is good tuggingge,
 while thy wedders benne walkinge
 on this loyne thow may have good luggingge.

200

Garcius: ffye on your loynes and your liverye,
 your liveraste, livers, and longes,
 your sose, your sowse, your savverraye,
 your sittinge withowt any songes.

205

One this hill I hold mee here,
 noe hape to your hot meate have I,
 but flyte with my fellowes in feare,
 and your sheepe full sycerly save I.

after 191 | H adds the following two lines:

At me all men lerne mon
 this Golgotha grimly to grope

192 drinke here shal] here drink mon H, here shall drink B W,
 shall drinke h 194 lotte] lathes H, lottis B, bottill W h
 little] lyt? Ed. 195 sett] kepe B W h by yee] to lye thee
 H B W h 196 I] omit W h 197 I defye thee] written
 as a separate line in H B h Dm. *Deimling has emended and un-*
consciously follows D; either Wright made a similar emendation or
Deimling misquotes the MS. 198 pastor] omit H tent] teene
 W h 199 tooth] teeth H W, touth B h tuggingge] dugging H,
 tovingge W, togginge h 201 on] and on W 202 Gar-
 cius] Trowle W h 203 liveraste] lyveras H, lyuerastis B h
 204 sose] sawce H sowse] Iawce H, sawse B h, saustes W
 savverraye] sauerage B H B h Dm. *insert and before your sav-*
verray 207 your hot] you what H 208 flyte] sitte W
 feare] freye W 209 sycerly] securely B W h save I]
 kepe I h

²¹⁰ *Secundus pastor*: ffor that thow saves our sheep,
 [44a] good nave, take keepe!
 sythen thow may not sleepe,
 come eate of this sowse!

Garcius: Nay, the dyrte is so deepe
²¹⁵ stopped therin for to steepe,
 and the grubbes theron do creepe,
 at (home), at thy howse.
 Therfore meate, if I may,
 of your dightinge todaye,
²²⁰ will I nought, by noe waye,
 tyll I have my (wage).
 I wend to have binne gaye,
 but see! soe ragged is myne araye.
 aye pinches is your paye
²²⁵ to any poore page.

Tertius pastor: Trowle, boy, for gode tree,
 come eate a morsell with me,
 and then wrastle will wee
 here on this wold.

²³⁰ *Garcius*: That shall I never flee,
 though yt bee with all three;
 to laye my liverye,
 that (wager) will I hold.

210 pastor] omit H that] omit B W h 211 take keepe]
 take and keepe H 214 Garcius] Trowle W h dyrte] dyrte
 therin H so] to B 215 stopped] stamped H W 216 do]
 omit H 217 home] whom D W 218 and 219] written
 as one line in H as are 220 and 221 220 noe way] the way B
 221 wage] wages D B W h 222 wend] wend or this H B h Dm.
 223 but] omit H B W h 224 pinches] pynckes H B W h,
 pinchinge B 225 any] every H B W h 226 pastor]
 omit H gode] gods H B W h tree] pitty H, three B, fee W h
 228 then] omit H 229 wold] greene W h 230 Garcius]
 omit H, Trowle W h, Garcius in B, but crossed out and altered into
 Trowle shall] will H 231 bee] were H with all] with
 you all H B h Dm. 232 liverye] liberay H 233 wager]
 omit D, wages B W h

Tunc ibit ad magistros suos, et dicat:

Nowe comes Trowle, the trewe,
a torne to take have I tight
with my masters, or I rewe,
put him forth that most is of might.

235

Prim(us) pastor: Trowle, better (thou) never knewe,
eate of this meate for a knight.

Garcius: Naye, spare, though I spewe,
all upon your heade shall yt light.

240

Secund(us) pastor: Howe! should we suffer this shame
of a shrewe thus to be shente?

Tertius pastor: This ladd lusts so to bee lame,
and loose a lymme, or hee went.

245

Garcius: Have donne! beginne wee this game,
but warre lest your golyons glent!
that were little dole to our dame,
though in the myddest of (Dee) yee were
drent.

Primus pastor: Ffalse lad! fye on thy face!
on this grownde thow shall have a fall!
hent one! and hould that thow hasse!
yf thow happe have, all goe to all!

250

[44b]

after 233 ibit] ibunt W magistros] maistres B, magistratos W
suos] omit H B W h et dicat] omit H, et dicat Trowle W
237 most is] is most H B W h 238 pastor] omit H thou
never] never thou Wr. thou] ther D knewe] kever H 240
Garcius] Trowle W h spare] spare I will H B W h 241 your
heade] this head B W h, your heades H shall yt] it shall
H B h Dm. yt] omit Wr. 242 pastor] omit H this] all
this W h 243 thus] this Wr. 244 pastor] omit H lusts
so] list H Dm. h, luste Wr., lustis B lame] lamde W 246
Garcius] Trowle W h 247 glent] gleett B W h 248 our]
your H 249 the] omit B W h of] omit B W h Dee] the
day D yee] they B h Dm., the Wr. 250 pastor] omit H
253 happe have] haue all haue H

255 *Garcius*: And (here), syrs, (to doe you) solace,
 Hankyn, sheparde, shame thee I shall;
 wroth thow art worse then thow was.
 warre lest thow walter here by the wall!

Tunc proiciat primum pastorem, et dicat Sec(un)d(us) pastor:

260 *Sec(un)d(us) pastor*: Boye, lest I breake thy bones,
 kneele downe and axe me a boone,
 lest I destroy thee here on these stones;
 Sease, lest I shend thee to soone.

Garcius: Gole thee to groyns and grownes!
 good were thee thy ould ragges to save soone,
 Little dowbt of such drownes,
 265 ly ther, tyke, for thy deedes donne.

Tertius pastor: Owt! alas! hee lyes on his loynes!
 but lett mee goe now to that lad!
 sheppardes he shames and shends,
 for last now am I owt-shad.

270 *Garcius*: Both your backes here to me bendes!
 for all your boasts I hould you to bad;
 hould your arses and your hinder loynes,
 then hope I to have, as I have had,

254 *Garcius*] Trowle W h here] this D, these W r. to doe
 you] here to D W r. 256 wroth] worth W h 257 walter]
 walt H B W h after 257 *Tunc proiciat etc.*] tunc primus
 proicitur H primum] primam W h, primus B 258 pastor]
 omit H break] break there H 261 shend] shame W h
 262 *Garcius*] Trowle W h Gole] gloe W h thee] that H to]
 so H B h Dm. groynes] grennes H B W h grownes] groundes W
 265 ly ther] lyther H B W h tyke] like H donne] are done
 H B W h after 265 H adds (tunc 2.us proijcitur.)
 266 loynes] rime requires lendes, but rime seems to have been of
 secondary importance! 267 mee] omit H B h Dm. goe now]
 now goe H 268 shends] shenes B 269 shad] shutt B
 270 *Garcius*] Trowle W h bendes] byndes H, bend B 271
 boasts] boast H B W h to] but H, full B W h 273 I]
 omit H have had] ere had H Dm., now had B, tofore had W r.

the better in the bore,
as I had before,
of this bovearte.
Yea, hope I more,
keepe well thy store,
for feare of a farte.

273

Tunc proijciat tertium pastorem, et dicat Garcius :

lye ther, lither, in the lake!
my liverye nowe will I lach,
this curye, this clowt, and this cake,
for yee be cast, now will I catch.
To the devyll I you all betake,
as traytours attaynt of your tache.
on this would, with this will, I (wake,)
all the world wonder on the wache.

280

285

Et sic recedat Garcius, et dicat prim(us) pastor :

ffellowes, this a fowle case is,
that wee bine thus cast of a knave,
all agaynst our wille hee has his;
But I must needes hould the harmes that I
have.

290

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor : That I have needes must I hold. [45a]
of these vnhappie harmes ofte here I,

274 in] and H 275] joined to 274 in B W h, to 276 in H
Deimling again emends to read with D 276 bovearte] bosiarth H.
boverte W, boverte h 278 store] score B h Dm. 277
and 278 written as one line in B W h after 279 tunc proij-
ciat etc.] Tunc 3. us. proijciatur H tertium pastorem] tercius
pastor B et dicat Gartius] omit H, et dicat Gertius B, et dicat
Trowle W h 281 will I] I will H B W h 282 curye]
cup H 284 you all] all you H B W h 285 as] and
H B W h attaynt] taynt H 286 with] omit H, on Dm.
wake] walke D B W h before 288 Et sic etc.] omit H
Garcius] Trowle W h pastor] omit H 289 of] out of W h
290 wille] willes B W h 291 harmes] harm H B W h
292 pastor] omit H 293 I] omit H

therefore will I wayte on this would
vpon the wedder, for I am werye.

295

Tertius pastor: Though wee bine werye, noe wonder,
what betweene wrastling and wakinge!
Ofte wee may bee in thought, we be now
vnder,
god amend hit with his makinge!

Tunc sedebunt, et stella apparebit, et dicant

300 *Prim(us) pastor*: What is all this light here
that blasses soe bright here
on my black beard?
for to see this light here
a man may bee afright here,
305 for I am afeard.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: ffeard for a fraye nowe
may wee bee all nowe,
and yett it is night,
yett seemes yt day nowe,
310 never, soothly to saye nowe,
see I such a sight.

Tertius Pastor: Such a sight seeminge,
and a light leeming
lett mee to looke.

294 wayte] weete H 295 the wedder] this would H
296 pastor] omit H bine] be H B W h 297 wakinge] walk-
ing B W h 298] ofte maye we be over though we be no
wonder H after 299 stella apparebit] apparebit stella H
et dicat] omit H, dicant Wr. 300 pastor] omit H
301 blasses] shynes H, black is B, blackes W h 303 light]
sight H 304 and 305] written as one line in H, as are 306
and 307, 312 and 313, 314 and 315. 305 afeard] afraid B h Dm.,
freayde Wr. 306 pastor] omit H ffeard] aferd H, ffreyde W h
308 and] a B W h 310] omit W h 313 leeming] le-
gleming H 314 lett] letts H B W h to] for to H

All, to my deemingē,
from a starre streaminge
yt to mee stroake.

325

Garcius: That starre if it stond
to seeke will I fond,
though my sight fayle mee.
while I may live in lond,
why should I not fond
yf it will awayle mee?

320

Tunc respiciens firmamentum dicat Garcius:

A! gode might is,
in yonder starre light is,
of the sonne this sight is,
as it nowē seemes.

325

Prim(us) pastor: Hit seemes, as I now see,
a bright starre to bee,
there to abyde.
from yt we may not flee,
but aye gloe on the glee,
tyll yt downe glyde.

330

(Secundus) pastor: ffellowes, will wee
kneelee downe on our knee,
after comford,
to the trewe trinitee,
for to lead vs for to see
our elders' lord.

[45b]

335

318 *Garcius*] *Trowle* W h) 318 and 319] *written as one*
line in H as are every first and second, every fourth and fifth lines
of all these six-line stanzas. 319 *seeke*] *se* H B W h 320 *my*
sight] *might light* W h *mee*] *omit* H B W h 322 *not fond*]
stond H, *found* B W h 323 *mee*] *omit* H B W h *before*
Garcius] *Trowle* W h *dicat*] *et dicat* Wr. 324 *might is*]
Zupitza suggests mightis 327 *seemes*] *sheines* W 328 *pastor*]
omit H 329 *to*] *for to* H 332 *gloe*] *glye* W h 334
pastor] *omit* H 336 *comford*] *comfortes* W h 338 *for*
to see] *to see* H B W h

340 *Tertius pastor*: Our lord will vs lere,
 in our prayer,
 wherto yt will apent,
 and why on high here
 the eare is soe cleare,
 345 nowe shall wee bekent.

Garcius: Lord of this light,
 send vs some sight
 why that it is sent.
 before this night,
 350 was I never so afright
 of the firmament.

Prim(us) pastor: (nor I), by my faye!
 nowe is it nigh daye,
 so was it never.
 355 therfore I praye
 the sooth us to saye,
 or that we desever.

Tunc cantet Angelus: Gloria in excelsis deo, et in terra
 pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

(*Primus pastor*): ffellowes in feare,
 may yee not here
 360 this mutinge on (height)?

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: In glöre and in glere,
 yett noe man was nere
 within our sight.

340 pastor]	omit H	341 in]	in this H	342 will]
well H	343 high]	height H B W h	345 bekent]	be
kent H B W h	346 Garcius]	Trowle W h	347 send]	
guide B W h	348 that]	omit H	sent]	fayre H
omit H	nor I]	Ne fye D,	wiest I B W h	352 pastor]
we]	omit h	358 primus pastor]	omit D H	359 yee]
you H B W h	360 height]	highe D	361 secundus	
pastor]	omit H	in glöre]	on glöre H B, a glöre W h	in glere]
on glöre H B				

Tertius pastor: Naye, yt was a 'glorye,'
nowe am I sorye
bowt more songe.

365

Garcius: Of this strange storye
such mirth (more I)
would have amonge.

Prim(us) pastor: as I then deemed,
'selsis' it seemed
that hee songe soe.

370

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Whyle the light leemed,
a wrekinge mee weened,
I wyst never whoo.

[46a]

375

Tertius pastor: What song was this, saye yee,
that he sang to vs, all three?
expounded shall yt bee,
erre wee hethen passe;
for I am eldest of degree,
and alsoe best, as seemes mee,
hit was 'groy, gloy,' with a 'glee,'
hit was neyther more nor lesse.

380

Garcius: Nay, yt was 'gloy, glay, glorius,'
methinke that note went over the howse;
a seemely man he was and curiouse,
but soone awaye hee was.

385

364 pastor] omit H 365 am I] I am H B W h 366 bowt]
without H, but Wr. 367 Garcius] Trowle W h 368 more
I] is merye D 369 would] I would D H B h 370 pastor]
omit H then] them W 371 selsis] Cælcis H, Selcis B,
Scellsis W h 372 songe] sang H B W h soe] omit W
373 pastor] omit H 374 a wrekinge] awwakinge h mee]
we H weened] deemed h 376 pastor] omit H 376
and 377] written as one line in H as are also 378 and 379 377 he]
the W, was h sang] songe h 379 erre] or H B W h
hethen] hense Wr. 382 groy gloy] glorum glarum H, glorie
glare h, glore glare W, glore glore B 384 Garcius] Trowle W h
384-388] omit H gloy glay] glore glore H B glorie glora W,
glori h 385 methinke] methought H B W h went] ronne W h

Prim(us) pastor: Nay, yt was 'glory, glay,' with a 'glo,'
 and much of 'celsis' was therto,
 390 as ever have I rest [of] woo,
 much hee spake of 'glas.'

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Naye, yt was neyther 'glas'
 nor 'glye,'
 therefore, fellowe, nowe stand bye!

Tertius pastor: By my fayth, hee was some spye
 395 our sheepe for to steale;
 or elles hee was a man of our crafte,
 for seemely hee was and wonders deft.

Garcius: Nay, hee came by night [and] all thinges
 lefte,
 our tuppes with tarre to teale.

400 *Prim(us) pastor*: Naye, on a 'glow,' and a 'glay,' and
 a 'glye'
 gurd Gabryell, when hee so gloryd,
 when hee sange I might not be sorye,
 through my brest-bonne bleting he bored.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Nay, by god, yt was a 'gloria'
 405 sayde Gabryell, when hee sayde soe;
 he had a mych better voyce then I have,
 as in heaven all other have soe.

388 primus pastor] omit H glory glay] glorum glarum H,
 glore glare B, glory glory W, glory glore h 390 of]
 or D H B W h wo] rowe H B W h 392 pastor] omit H
 glye] glee H B h Dm. 394 pastor] omit H hee] it H B
 397 wonders] wondrous H, wonder B W h 398 Garcius]
 Trowle W h came] come H B W h and] omit D H B W h
 399 teale] tayle H, tell B W h 400 primus pastor] omit H
 glow] glore H B W h and a glay] on a glory W h, and a glare H
 401 gurd] good H B gloryd] glored H 403 through] for
 through H B W h bleting] bloting H bored] borned B W h
 404 pastor] omit H h god] my faith H 405 sayde soe]
 sang soe H B h Dm., biganne so Wr. 406 I have] had I H

Tertius pastor: Wyll (y)ee here how hee sange 'celsis,'
 for on that sadly hee sett him;
 nayther singe 'sar,' nor soe well 'cis,' 410
 ney 'pax,' 'merye mawd when shee had mett
 him.'

Garcius: On tyme hee touched on 'tarre,' [46b]
 and therto I tooke good intent,
 all heaven might not have gonne harre,
 that note on high when hee up hent. 415

Prim(us) pastor: and after a 'pax,' or of peace,
 up as a pye hee pyped,
 such a loden—this is noe lesse—
 never in my life me so lyked.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Upon 'hominibus' he muted, 420
 that much mervayle to mee was;
 and aye I quoked when he so whewted,
 I durst not hede wher that yt was

Tertius pastor: Yett, yett, hee sange more then all this,
 for some word is worthy a forder, 425
 for hee sange 'bonæ voluntatis,'
 that is a cropp that passeth all other.

408 pastor] omit H yee] hee D, you H B W h 410 Sar]
 sir W h singe] sang H B h Dm., singes Wr. 411 ney]
 ner H B W h had] so W 412 Garcius] Trowle W h on]
 upon H B W h tarre] terre W h 413 and] on H therto]
 ther H 415 high] height H B W h up hent] had howted H
 416 a] of H B W h 417 a] omit H W h 418 loden]
 ledde H B h Dm., loden Wr. this] that Wr. lesse] las H B h Dm.
 420 pastor] omit H hominibus] omnibus B W h 422 aye]
 ever W h quoked] quock H when] while H he] the Wr.
 whewted] shewted H B W h 423 not] not not W hede]
 here H yt] I H B W h 424 pastor] omit H yett yett]
 yett W 425] ffro my mynde it shall not starte W
 worthy] worth H B W h forder] foder B W h, founder H
 426 bonæ] bone H B, bene W, bout bone h 427 passeth]
 past H

430 *Garcius*: Yett and yett, hee sange more to,
 from my mynde yt shall not starte,
 hee sange alsoe of a 'deo,'
 methought that heled my harte.
 And that word 'terra' hee tamed,
 therto I toke good intent,
 and 'pax' alsoe may not be blamed,
 435 for that to this songe I assent.

Prim(us) pastor: Nowe pray wee to him, with good
 intent,
 and singe I will and me v(n)brace,
 that hee will lett vs to be kent,
 and to send vs of his grace.

440 *S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor*: Nowe syth I have all my will,
 —never in this world soe well I was—
 singe wee nowe, I rede vs, shryll
 a mery songe vs to solace.

445 *Garcius*: Singe we nowe—lett see—
 some song will I assaye;
 all men nowe singes after mee,
 for musicke of mee learne yee may.

Tunc cantabunt, et postea dicat terti(us) pastor:
 (here singe twoly, loly, loly, lo.)

428 *Garcius*] Trowle W h and] omit W h 429 shall]
 may H 432 terra] tarre B 435 that to this song] that
 song to this H 436 pastor] omit H 437 unbrace] um-
 brace D, imbrace W h 440 pastor] omit H 441 never]
 for never H B W h I was] hasste B, hase W h 444 *Garc-*
cius] Trowle W h Singe we nowe] now sing on H lett] let
 us H B, lettes Wr. 445 will I] I will H 446 nowe]
 omit H after 447 *Tunc cantabunt* etc.] *Tunc omnes pastores*
cum aliis adiuvantibus cantabunt hilare carmen H cantabunt]
 cantabit B tertius pastor] Trowle W here singe twoly loly
 loly lo] omit H, sing tooly holy holy loo B, singe troly loly
 troly loe W, Singe troly loly lo h

(*Tertius pastor* :) Nowe wend we forth to Bethlem,
that is best our songe to bee,
for to see the starre gleme,
the fruyt alsoe of that mayden free.

450

Prim(us) pastor : Nowe followe we the starre that shines, [47a]
tyll we come to that holy stable ;
to Bethlem bend the lymes,
followe we yt, withowt any fable.

455

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor : ffolowe we hit and hyes full
fast,
such a frend loth vs were to fayle ;
launche on ! I will not be the last
upon Marye for to mervayle.

Hic vadunt versus Bethlem.

Terti(us) pastor : Stynt nowe, goe no moe steppes !
for now the starre beginneth to stand.
Harvye, that good bene our happes
we seene by our Savyour fonde.

460

Hic apparet Angelus et dicat : Sheppardes, of this sight
be ye not afright,
for this is gode might,
takes this in mynde.

465

448 *tertius pastor*] omit all MSS ; in H, therefore, this speech is
assigned to *Garcus*. 449 that] this Wr. 450 gleme] gleene
in h, cleane may W 451 alsoe] omit W h 452 *pastor*]
omit H nowe] and nowe H shines] shyneth Wr. 454 bend]
boyn B h, bonne W the] we our H B W h lymes] lynes H,
lymis B W h 456 *pastor*] omit H and] that H hyes]
hyeth H full] so H 457 vs were] were us H B h Dm., us Wr.
after 459 *Hic*] Tunc H, Hinc W 460 *pastor*] omit H nowe]
omit H 461 beginneth] begins H B W h 462 Harvye]
here by B, here we H good] before happes W h 463 seene]
see H B W h by] by this H fonde] is found H B W h after
463 *Hic*] Et H, hoc B apparet] apparebit H, appariet B W h
et dicat] omit H 464 and 465] written as one line in H as are
466 and 467, 468 and 469, 470 and 471. 465 ye] you H B W h
466 gode] godes H B W h 467 takes] take Wr.

470 To bethlem (goe) nowe right,
there yee shall see in sight
that Christ is borne tonight
to cover all mankynde.

Garcius: To bethlem take wee the waye,
for with you I think to wend,
475 that prince of peace for to pray,
heaven to have at our ende.
And singe we all, I (redd,)
some myrth to his maiestee,
for certayne now see wee it indeede,
the kinge sone of heaven is hee.

[Scene 2]

480 *Prim(us) pastor*: Simm, Sym, securlye,
here I see Marye
and Jesus Christ fast bye,
lapped in haye.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Kneelee we downe in hye,
485 and praye we him of mercye,
and welcome him worthelye,
that woe does awaye.

T(e)r(tus) pastor: Awaye all our woe ys
and many man's moe'ys,
490 Christ, lord, lett vs kys
the cratch or the clothes.

468 goe] omit D B W, wende h 469 yee shall] shall you H,
you shall B W h 471 cover] ken B W h 472 *Garcius*] *same*
Trowle W h 473 wende] wynde H B W h 476 redd]
wend D 478 see wee] we see B, sheewe W h 479 kinge]
kinges H B W h 480 and 481 written as one line in H, as
are each pair of lines thereafter through line 495. 480 securlye]
soundlie H, sickerlye W h 484 pastor] omit H, here and in
all the following headings. 491 the] thy H B W h

Garcius: Solace nowe to see this [47b]
 bylde in my brest blys,
 never after to do amys
 thing that him loth ys. 495

Prim(us) pastor: Whatever this ould man that here is,
 take heede how his head ys whore,
 his beard is like a buske of bryers,
 with a pound of heare about his mouth and
 more.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: More ys this marveylye to mee nowe, 500
 for to nappe greatly him needes;
 hartles is hee nowe,
 for aye to his heeles hee heedes

Terti(us) pastor: Why! with his berde though hit be
 rough,
 right well to her hee (heedes), 505
 worthye wight, witt would wee nowe:
 wyll ye warne vs, worthye in weedes?

Maria: Sheppardes, sothlye I see
 that my sonne you hyther sent,
 through gode might in maistye, 510
 that in me light and here is lent.
 This man maryed was to mee
 for noe sinne in such assent,
 but to keepe my virginitee,
 and truly in non other intent. 515

492 *Garcius*] Trowle W h 495 thing] thinges W h
 498 is] omit H 501 him] he H greatly him] him greatly B
 503 his] he B W h heedes] head is H, hidis B 504 be
 rough] hydes Wr. 505 heedes] hydes D W h, hudis B
 506 nowe] omit B W h 507 ye] me B, we W h worthye]
 worthele B in weedes] omit B W h 508 and 509 etc.]
each pair written as one line down to 515, in H 510 gode] gods
 H B W h 511 in me] me in H lent] tent H 513 in]
 ner H B W h 515 in] for W h

Joseph: Good men, Moyses take in mynde,
 as he was made through god all-might,
 ordayned lawes vs to bynde,
 w(hi)ch that wee should keepe of (right),
 520 man and woman for to bynde,
 lawefully them both to light.
 to fructifye, as men may fynde,
 that tyme was wedded every wight.
 Therefore wedded to her I was,
 525 as lawe would, her for to lere,
 for noyse nor slander nor trespasse,
 and through that deede the devill to dere,
 as tould me Gabriell, full of grace,
 when I had trussed all my gere,
 530 to have fled and to have never seene her face,
 by him was I arested there.
 ffor hee sayde to me sleepinge,
 that shee lackles was of sinne;
 and when I hard that tokeninge,
 535 from her durst I not waye twynne.
 Therefore goes forth and preach this thinge,
 all together and not in twynne,
 that you have seene your heavenly kinge
 common all mankynde to wyne.

[48a] *Prim(us) pastor*: Great god, syttyng in thy troone,
 541 that made all thinge of nought,
 nowe wee may thanke thee eychone;
 this is hee that wee have sought.

516 take] takes H B W h	518 vs] as H B W h
519 which] wth D right] wight D	526 nor] or H, and B
527 dere] dare Wr.	530 to have never seene] never to see
H B h Dm., never to have seen Wr.	her] his B 535 not]
no H B waye] omit W h	536 forth] omit H B h Dm. and]
omit H B W h preach] preach forth H B W h	539 all] one
all B h, and all W wyne] mynd B, myne W h	541 thinge]
things B W h	542 nowe] omit H
	543 here is] this

is B W, for thou arte h

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Goe wee neere anone,
with such as we have brought,
ringe, brooche, or, preciouise stone,
lett see whether we have ought to proffer.

545

Terti(us) pastor: Lett us doe him homage!

Prim(us) pastor: Whoe shall goe first, the page?

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Nay, yee be father in age,
therfore ye must first offer.

550

Prim(us) pastor: Hayle, kinge of heaon soe hye,
borne in a cribbe!

mankynd unto thee

thow hast made full sybbe.

555

Hayle, kyng e borne in a maydens bowre,

profette did tell thou should be our soccour,
this clarkes do saye.

loe! I bringe thee a bell,

I praye thee save me from hell,

560

for that I may with thee dwell,

and serve thee for aye.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Hayle the, Emperour of hell,
and of heaven als!

the feynd shall thow fell,

565

that ever hath binne fals.

546 brooche] brush H B W h or] ner W h 547 lett] lets H, Lett us W h whether] yf W h to proffer] *Deimling says "unnecessary and spoiling the rime, but in all four manuscripts." If we do not retain it, however, we have no word to rime with line 551, and if we do retain it we have the effect of a rime with 543 in 'ought.'* As all the manuscripts include it I see no reason for discarding it. 549 goe first] furst goe H 550 yee] you H B h Dm. father] fathers H B h Dm. in] of H B W h 551 ye must] must you H first] omit W h 552 and 553] written as one line in H, as are each succeeding pair through line 571. 554 unto] to H 555 full] all H, fullye W h sybbe] omit W h 558 do] doth H B W h 560] omit H 561 for] so H B W h 562 serve thee] fare well H aye] ever W 564 als] alsoe D 565 shall thow] shall thee Wr., thou shalt H B h Dm. fell] fall H

Hayle the, maker of the star[n]e,
 that stooode vs beforne!
 hayle the, blessedde-full (barne)
 that ever was borne!
 Loe, sonne! I bringe thee a flackett,
 therby hanges a spoone,
 for to eat thy pottage with at noone,
 as I myself full ofte tymes have donne.
 with hart I pray thee to take yt.

Terti(us) pastor: Hayle, prince withowten any pere,
 that mankynde shall releeve!
 hayle the, fooe vnto lucyfere,
 the w(hi)ch beguyled Eve!
 Hayle the, graunter of (happe)!
 for one yearth now thow dwelles.
 loe, sonne! I bringe the a cappe,
 for I have nothings elles.
 This gifte, sonne, that I give thee ys but smalle,
 and though I come the hyndmost of all,
 when thow shalt men to thy blys call,
 Good lord, yett thinke on mee.

[48b] *Garcius*: My deare, with dryrie vnto thee I mee dresse,
 my state on felloweshippe that I doe not lose,

567 starne] star D H B W h	569 barne] baronne D
570] omit B W h, added to line 569 in H	571 Loe sonne]
omit H flackett] flaggette W h, flasket H	572 therby] and
thereat H hanges] omit H	573 for] omit H B W h with]
withall H W h	574 full] omit B tymes] omit H have]
hath H B W h	575 to] omit H, for to B yt] omit W
576 any] omit H	578 the fooe] soe H, thee froo W h
579 which] wth D	580 the] omit H happe] hope D B,
happes H	581 for one] in H B W h
584] To offer unto	
thee this gifte, sonne, forsoth it is but small H	son, that] omit
B W h I give] I bring Wr.	585 and] omit H come] came
H B W h hyndmost] hyndermost H, last h	586 men]
them Wr.	587 yett] then H B W h
588 Garcius]	
Trowle W h dryrie] drury H B h, dutye W	589 state]
flote H on] and W h not lose] no lesse H	

and for to save mee from all yll sicknesse, 590
 I offer vnto thee a payre of my wyves ould
 hose;
 ffor other jewells, my sonne,
 have I none thee for to give,
 that is worthe anythinge at all,
 but my good harte, whyle I lyve, 595
 and my prayers tyll death doth me call.

The first boy: Nowe to you, my fellowes, this doe I
 saye;
 for in this place, or that I wynde awaye,
 vnto yonder chyld lett vs goe praye,
 as our masters have donne vs beforne. 600

The second boye: And of such goode as wee have
 here,
 lett us offer to this prince so dere,
 and to his mother, that mayden clere,
 that of her body hasse (him) borne.

The first boye: Abyde, syrres! I will goe first to yonder 605
 kinge.

The second boye: and I will go next to that lordinge.

The thyrd boye: Then will I be last of this offeringe,
 this can I saye, noe more.

590 and] omit Wr. for] omit H 591 unto] to H 592
 and 593 written as one line in H B W h 592 jewells] jewell H,
 dremes W my] omit H 593 have I] I have H B W h
 thee] omit H B W h 596 doth] do H B W h 597-640]
 omit H 597 you] omit W h doe] will W h 598 or
 that] before B wynde] wende B W h 599 pray] and
 pray W h 600 have] hath Wr. beforne] before B W h
 601 goode] goodes B W h 604 him] her D, bene W
 hasse] hade Wr. 605 firste boye] thirde boye h abyde] A
 by B, I] and I h 607 will I be] wilbe I W last] the
 last B W h

The first boye: Nowe, lord, for to give thee have I
nothinge,

610 neyther gold, silver, brooch, ore ringe,
nor noe rich robes meete for a kinge,
that I have here in store.

But though hit lacke a stopple,
take thee here my well fayre bottle,
615 for yt will hold a good pottle:
in fayth, I can give thee noe more.

The second boye: Lord, I knowe that thow art of this
virgine borne,

in full poore araye sittinge one her arme,
for to offer to the have I noe skorne,
620 althoo thou be but a child.

ffor Iewell have I none to give thee,
to mayntayne thy royall dignitie,
but my hood take yt thee,
as thow art god and man.

625 *The thyrd boye:* O! noble child of thy father on hye,
alas! what have I for to give thee?

save only my pipe that soundeth so royallye,
elles truely have I nothinge at all.

Were I in the rocke or in the valey a-lowe,
630 I could make this pipe sound, I swere,
that all the world should ringe,
and quaver as yt would fall.

609 boye] plaie W 610 ore] nor B W h 613 though
hit lacke] that yt lackes Wr. 614 fayre] omit W 617 I
know that] omit W h this] the h 619 have I] I have
B W h 621 Iewell] jewells B 622 to] for to W h
623 take] thou take B, then take h Wr., that take Dm. 625
thy father on hye] the B W h 626 to give] omit B W h
thee] at beginning of 627 in B 627 that soundeth so royallye]
omit B W h 628 have I] omit B W h at all] omit B W h
629 the valey alowe] omit B W h 630 sound I swere]
omit B W h 631 world] wood B W h ringe] at beginning of
632 in B 632 quaver] quiver B W h would fall] were B W h

The_iiii boye: Nowe, chyld, although thou be commen
from God,

and bee thyselfe god in thy manhoode,
yett I knowe that in thy chyldhood 635
thow will for sweetmeat looke.

To pull downe apples, payres, and ploomes,
ould Joseph shall not neede to hurte his
(thombes),

because thow haste not plentye of cromes,
I give thee here my nut hooke. 640

Prim(us) pastor: Nowe fare well, mother and maye,
for of synne nought thow wottest;
thow hast brought forth this daye
gode sonne, of might is most.

Wherefore men shall saye 645
'blessed,' in every coast and place.

be hee memoriall for vs all,
and that wee may from synne fall,
and stand ever in his grace.
our lord god bee with thee! 650

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: Brethren, lett vs all three
singing walke homwardlye;
vnkynd will I never in noe case bee,
but preach all that I can and knowe,
As Gabryell taught by his grace mee, 655
singing awaye, hethen will I [nowe].

634 thyselfe god] god thyself B W h 636 will] wilt B W h
637 apples payres] peares appells B 638 thombes] handes D B
639 not] no h 640 nut hooke] millhook B 644 Gode]
Gods H B W h of might] which of might H, of mightest B W
h most] mast H 647 hee] thou H B h, you W for vs]
for me and for us H B W h 648 and] so H B 649 his]
thy H B W h 652 homwardlye] homewardes B H W h
653 never] omit B W h 654 all] ever H B W h knowe]
crye_H B W h 656 awaye] alway H hethen] hense Wr.

Terti(us) pastor: Over the sea, and I may have grace,
 I will gange and goe about nowe,
 to preach this thinge in every place,
 660 and sheepe will I keepe no more nowe.

Garcius: I read, wee vs agree
 for our mysdeedes amendes to make,
 for soe now will I,
 and to the chyld I wholey mee betake
 665 for aye, securely.
 sheppardes craft I forsake,
 and to an anker hereby
 I will, in my prayers (to) wach and wake.

Prim(us) pastor: And I (am) hermitte,
 670 to prayse god, to praye,
 to walke by stye and by streytt,
 in wildernes to walke for aye;
 and I shall noe man meete
 but for my living I shall him praye,
 675 barefoote one my feete,
 and thus will I live ever and aye.
 [49b] ffor aye, ever, and alwayse,
 this world I fully refuse,
 my mysse to amend with monys.
 680 turne to thy fellowes and kys!

658 gange] henge W goe about] about goe H B W h 659
 thing] omit H B W h 660 no more] non B W h 661 Gar-
 cius] Trowle W h agree] gree H 663 will I] I will W 664
 And to] to H the] that Wr. I wholey] whollie will I H B,
 wholly Wr. 665 aye securely] ever sicklerly H B W h
 666 I] heere I H B W h 668 in] to H to] omit D W h
 669 am] an D H hermitte] heare meke W 670 to] and h
 praye] paye H B W 671 walke] wake H stye] style W
 and by] and W 672 for aye] ever W 673 shall]
 will W 674 shall] will H him] them Wr. 675 bare-
 foote] bare-foted H 676 thus] this Wr. 677 and al-
 wayse] onys W B h, and honestlie H 678 fully] will H
 679 to] for to H 680] omit H

I yelde, for in youth
we have bine fellowes, I-wys,
therfore lend me your mouth,
and frendly let vs kysse.

S(e)c(un)d(us) pastor: ffrom london to lowth, 685
such an other shepperd I wott not where is.
both frend and cowth
god grant you all his blys!

Tertius Pastor: To that blys bringe you,
great god, if that thy will bee! 690
Amen all singe you,
good men fare well yee!

Garcius: Well for to fare, eych frend,
god of his might graunt you!
for here now we make an ende, 695
farewell, for wee from you goe now.

finis Septim(æ) pagin(æ).

681 for] and H in] in my H B W h 683 me] us B W h
mouth] mouthes H 685 lowth] such H 686 such]
omit H wott not] not B W h where] were Wr. is] omit
B W h 687 frend] fremd H h Dm., framed Wr. Tremed B
cowth] cought H 688 grant] geve H all his blys] Amen
Wr. 689 you] us H 690 great god] added to 689 in H,
god graunt B that] it H B h Dm., omit Wr. 691] amend
all things that be amisse H, all] omit B h Dm. 692 men]
men now H fare] fares Wr. yee] omit B W h 693 fare]
fayer B 695 for] and B 696 from you goe now] goe
from you now W Septimæ paginæ] Septima pagina D,
paginæ septimæ H W h, omit B W h add deo gracias W adds
per me Georgi Bellin 1592 W h add Come lord Iesu, Come
quicklye h adds 1600

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE COVENTRY PLAYS

The manuscript of the Coventry Plays abounds in contractions and abbreviations. In this text all are expanded, and the manuscript form noted in the variants, except in the case of the following very common abbreviations, where I have reversed the process, and only noted the occurrence of the full, uncontracted form:

& for and,

cō „ cion,

y „ th, (in the, this, then, ther, thi, tho, etc.)

x „ sh,

wt „ with.

Final e, er, ur, es, are denoted by various flourishes; n and m after a vowel by a circumflex accent.

In the variants the readings of Halliwell's edition are denoted by H, and Kölbing's suggested emendations (Engl. Stud. 21. 166) by K.

Brackets [] denote my own emendations; parentheses () denote expansions of abbreviations.



[Scene 1: The Council in Heaven.]

Contemplacion: fflowre thowsand sex undryd foure zeres,

I telle,

man ffor his offens and fflowle foly
hath loyn zeres in the peynes of helle,
and were wurthy to ly therin endlesly;
But thanne shulde perysche gour grete mercy.

5

good Lord, have on man pyte;
haue mende of the prayour seyde by Ysaie—
lete mercy meke thi hyst mageste—

wolde God thu woldyst breke thi hefne myghtye
and com down here into erth,
and levyn zeres thre and threttye,
thyn famy[sch]t ffolke with thi fode to fede.

10

To staunche th[eir] th[yr]st lete thi syde blede,
ffor erst wole not be mad redempcion.

Cum vesyte vs in this tyme of nede;
of thi careful creatures, Lord, haue compassyon.

15

A! woo to vs wrecchis, if wrecchis be,
ffor God hath addyd ssorwe to sorwe.

I prey the, Lord, thi sowlys com se,
how thei ly and sobbe for syknes and sorwe;
with thi blyssyd blood ffrom balys hem borwe,
thy careful creaturys cryenge in captyvyte,

20

1 zeres] omit K 5 and 12] MS has full forms thanne
and thyn. 12 famyscht] famyt MS H 13 their] thi
MS H thyrtst] thyrtst MS H 17 if] crossed out and that
substituted in MS, that H 20 for syknes and sorwe] crossed
out and bothe eve and morwe substituted in MS H, but see note on
source of ll. 17-18 21 balys] babys H 22] MS has full
form thy

A! tary not, gracious Lord, tyl it be to-morwe!
The devyl hath dysceyved hem be his iniquite.

25 A! q(uo)d Jeremye, who shal gyff wellys to myn
eynes,

that I may wepe bothe day and nyght
to se oure bretheryn in so longe peynes?

[59a] here myschevys amende may thi meche myght!
As grett as the se, Lord, was Adamys contrysyon
ryght;

30 ffrom oure hed is falle the crowne;
man is comeryd in synne. I crye to thi syght:
Gracyous Lord, gracyous Lord, gracyous Lord, come
downe!

Virtutes: Lord, plesyth it thin hyz domynacion
on man that thu made to haue pyte.

35 Patryarchys and p(ro)phetys han made supply-
cacion,

oure offyse is to presente here p(re)yeres to the;
Aungelys, Archaungelys, we thre
that ben in the fyrst ierarchie,
ffor man to thin hy mageste

40 mercy! mercy! mercy! we crye.

The aungel, Lord, thu made so gloryous,
whos synne hath mad hym a devyl in helle,
he mevyd man to be so contraryous;
man repented, and he in his obstynacye doth dwelle.

45 hese grett males, good Lord, repelle,
and take man onto thi grace;
lete thi mercy make hym with aungelys dwelle,
of Locyfere to restore the place.

25 and 35] MS has contractions qd and pphetys 25 eynes]
eynos MS, corrected by later hand 36 preyeres] pyeres MS the]
MS has full form 46 onto] on to MS H

Pater: PROPTER MISERIAM INOPUM
ET GEMITUM PAUPERUM NUNC EXURGAM.

ffor the wretchydnes of the nedy,
and the porys lamentacion, 50
now shal I ryse that am Almyghty.
tyme is come of reconsyliacion.
my p(ro)phetys with prayers haue made suppli- [59b]
cacion;
my contryte creaturys crye all for comforte;
all mȳn aungellys in hefne, withowte cessacion, 55
they crye that grace to man myght exorte.

Veritas: Lord, I am thi dowtere Trewthe,
thu wilt se I be not lore.
thyn vnkynde creatures to save were rewthe,
the offens of man hath grevyd the sore. 60
whan Adam had synnyd, thu seydest yore,
that he shulde deye and go to helle,
and now to blysse hym to restore!
twey contraries mow not togedyr dwelle.

Thy trewthe, Lord, shall leste withowtyn ende, 65
I may in no wyse ffro the go;
that wretche that was to the so vnkende,
he may not haue to meche wo;
he dyspysyd the and plesyd thi ffo.
thu art his creatour and he is thi creature: 70
thu hast lovyd trewthe, it is seyde evyrmo,
therefore in peynes lete hym evyrmore endure.

Mi(sericordi)a: O Fadyr of mercy, and God of com-
forte!
that counselle us in eche trybulacion,

53 prophetys] pphetys 56, 59, 60] MS has full forms they,
thyn, the 73 Misericordia] mia MS

75 lete gour dowtere, mercy, to gow resorte,
 and on man that is myschevyd haue compassyon ;
 hym grevyth fful gretly his transgressyon.
 all hefne and erthe crye ffor mercy ;
 [60a] me semyth th[er] shuld be non excepcion,
 80 ther prayers ben offeryd so specyally.

Trewthe sseyth she hath evyr be, than
 I graunt it wel she hath be so ; [man,
 and thu seyst endlesly that mercy thu hast kept ffor
 than, mercyabyl Lorde, kepe us bothe to.
 85 Thu seyst: Veritas mea et mi(sericordi)a mea cum ip(s)o,
 Suffyr not thi sowlys, than, in sorwe to slepe.
 that helle hownde, that hatyth the, byddyth hym ho,
 thi love, man, no lengere lete hym kepe.

Justicia: Mercy, me merveylyth what gow movyth.
 90 ge know wel I am gour systere, Ryghtwysnes.
 god is ryghtful and ryghtffulnes lovyth,
 man offendyd hym that is endles,
 Therefore his endles punchement may nevyr sees ;
 also he forsoke his makere that made hym of clay,
 95 and the devyl to his mayster he ches ;
 shulde he be savyd? Nay! Nay! Nay!

As wyse as is God he wolde a-be ;
 this was the abhomynabyl p(re)sumpcion.
 it is seyde, ge know wel this of me,
 100 that the ryghtwysnes of God hath no diffynicion.
 Therefore late this be oure conclusyon :
 he that sore synnyd ly style in sorwe ;
 he may nevyr make a seyth be resone,
 104 whoo myght thanne thens hym borwe?

79 ther] thi MS H 81 Trewthe] Threwthe MS H
 84, 85, 86] MS has full forms than, thu, than. 85 miseri-
 cordia] mia MS ipso] ipo MS 93, 101, 104] MS has full
 forms therefore, thanne, thens.

Mi(sericordi)a: Systyr Ryghtwysnes, ze are to vengeabyl; [60b]
 Endles synne God endles may restore.
 above all hese werkys God is mercyabyl;
 thow he forsook God be synne, be feyth he forsook
 hym never the more,
 and thow he p(re)sumyd nevyr so sore,
 ze must consyder the frelnes of mankende. 110
 lerne, and ze lyst, this is Goddys lore:
 the mercy of God is withowtyn ende.

Pax: To spare zour speches, systeres, it syt.
 It is not onest in vertuys to ben dycencion,
 the pes of God ovyrcomyth all wytt. 115
 yow, Trewthe and Ryght, sey grett resone,
 gett Mercy seyth best to my plesone;
 ffor yf mannys sowle shulde abyde in helle,
 betwen God and man evyr shulde be dyvysyon,
 and than myght not I, Pes, dwelle. 120

Therefore me semyth best ze thus acorde—
 than hefne and erthe ze shal qweme—
 putt bothe zour sentens in oure Lorde,
 And in his hyz wysdam lete hym deme;
 This is most syttynge me shulde seme. 125
 And lete se how we fflowre may all abyde—
 that mannys sowle it shulde p(er)ysche it wore sweme,
 or that only of vs ffro othere shuld dyvyde.

Veritas: In trowthe, hereto I consente;
 I wole prey oure Lorde it may so be. 130
Iusticia: I, Ryghtwysnes, am wele contente,
 ffor in him is very equyte.

105 Misericordia] *m̃ia* MS 109 presumyd] *p̃sumed* MS
 115, 120, 121, 125] MS *has full forms*: the, than, therefore, thus,
 and this 127 perysche] *p̃ysche* MS

[61a] *Mi(sericordi)a*: and I, Mercy, ffro this counsel wole not fle
tyl wysdam hath seyde I shal ses.

135 *Pax*: here is God now, here is vynte;
hefne and erthe is plesyd with pes.

Ffilius: I thinke the thoughtys of pes, and nowth of
wykkydnes;

this I deme to ses your contraversy:

If Adam had not deyde peryschyd had ryghtwysnes,

140 And also Trewthe had be lost therby.

Trewth and Ryght wolde chastyse Ffoly;

giff another deth come not Mercy shulde perysche,

Then Pes were exyled ffynaly.

so tweyn dethis must be, zow fowre to cherysche.

145 But he that shal deye ze must knawe,

that in hym may ben non iniquyte,

that helle may holde hym be no lawe,

but that he may pas at hese lyberte.

qwere swyche on [is], p(ro)vyde and se

150 and hese deth for mannys dethe shal be redempcion.

all hefne and erthe seke now ze.

plesyth it zow this conclusyon?

[Scene 2: The Same.]

Veritas: I, Trowthe, haue sowte the erthe without and
withinne,

and, in sothe, ther kan non be fownde

155 that is of o day byrth, withowte synne,

nor [that to] deth wole be bownde.

133 Misericordia] Mia MS
149 is] his MS pvyde] pvyde MS
MS H

138] MS has full form this
156 that to] to that

Mi(sericordi)a: I, Mercy, haue ronne the hevylynly re-
gyon rownde,
and ther is non of that charyte,
that ffor man wole suffre a deddly wounde.
I can nott wete how this shal be. 160

Iusticia: Sure, I can fynde non sufficient, [61 b]
ffor servauntys vnprofytabyll we be eche on.
[T]he love nedyth to be ful ardent,
that for man to helle wolde gon.

Pax: That God may do is non but on, 165
therefore this is be hys avyse,
he that zaff this counsell, lete hym geve the comferte
alon,
ffor the conclusyon in hym of all these lyse.

Ffilius: It peyneth me that man I mad,
That is to seyn, peyne I must suffre sore. 170
A counsel of the Trinite must be had,
whiche of vs shal man restore.

Pater: In gour wysdam, son, man was mad thore,
And in wysdam was his temptacion,
therfore, sone, sapyens ze must ordeyn herefore, 175
and se how of man may be salvacion.

Ffilius: ffadyr, he that shal do this must be bothe
God and man,
lete me se how I may were that wede,
and syth in my wysdam he began,
I am redy to do this dede. 180

Sp(irit)us S(an)c(t)us: I, the Holy Ghost, of zow tweyn
do p(ro)cede.
this charge I wole take on me—

160 I] Ii MS 163 the] he MS 164] MS has full
form that 181] MS has full form the spiritus Sanctus]
Spūs Scūs MS pceded] pceded MS 182] MS has full form this

I, Love, to your lover shal you lede ;
this is the assent of our unite.

[62a] *Mi(sericordi)a*: Now is the loveday of us four, finally,
Now may we love in peace, as we were wonte.
Misericordia et Veritas obviauerunt sibi,
Iusticia et Pax osculat[æ] sunt.

Et hic osculabunt pariter omnes.

Pater: from vs God, angel Gabriel, thou shalt be sende
Into the countre of Galyle—

the name of the cyte Nazareth is kende—
190 to a mayd, weddyd to a man is she,
of whom the name is Joseph, se,
of the hous of Davyd bore.
the name of the mayd fre
is Mary, that shal all restore.

195 *Filius*: Say that she is withowte wo, and full of grace,
And that I, the son of the godhed, of here shal be bore.
hyge the, thou were there apace,
Ellys we shal be there the before,
I haue so greet hast to be man thore,
200 In that mekest and purest virgyne.
sey here she shal restore
of you angellys the greet ruyne.

[62b] *Sp(irit)us S(an)c(t)us*:
and if she aske the how it my[ght] be,
telle here I, the Holy Gost, shal werke all this;
205 Sche shal be sayd thorwe our unite.
In token, here bareyn cosyn Elyzabeth is
quyk with childe, in here greet age, i-wys.
seye here, to vs nothyng impossible ;
here body shal be so fulfylt with blys,
210 that she shal sone thyne this sownde credyble.

186b osculatæ] osculate MS H
has full forms the, there, and this

189, 193, 197, 198, 204] MS
203 myght] myth MS H

Gabriel: In thyn hey inbasset, lord, I shal go
 it shal be do with a thought,
 beholde now, lord, I go here to,
 I take my fflyth and byde nowth.

[Scene 3: The Annunciation.]

AVE MARIA, GRATIA PLENA, DOMINUS TECUM.

Heyl, fful of grace! god is with the! 215
 amonge āll women blyssyd art thu!
 here this name Eva is turnyd Ave,
 that is to say withowte sorwe ar ze now.

Thow sorwe in zow hath no place,
 zett of joy, lady, ze nede more, 220
 Therefore I adde and sey fful of grace, [63 a]
 ffor so ful of grace was nevyr non bore.
 zett who hath grace, he nedyth kepyng sore,
 therfore I sey god is with the,
 whiche shal kepe zow endlesly thore, 225
 so amonge all women blyssed ar ze.

Maria: A! mercy, god! this is a mervelyous thyng,
 In the aungelys wordys I am trobelyd her,
 I thyнк how may be this gretynge.
 Aungelys dayly to me doth aper, 230
 But not in the lyknes of man that is my fere,
 and also thus hyzly to commendyd be
 and am most unwurthy, I can not answey,
 grett shamfastnes and grett dred is in me.

Gabryel: Mary, in this take ze no drede, 235
 ffor at god grace ffownde haue ze.

211, 215, 216, 217, 219] MS *has full forms*: thyn, thee, thu,
 this, thow 227 thyng] herynge MS H 232] MS
has full form thus 233 unwurthy] unwirthy H

ge shal conceyve in zour wombe, indeede,
 a childe, the sone of the trynnye;
 [63b] his name of zow ih(es)u clepyd shalbe;
 he shal be grett, the son of the hiest, clepyd of
 240 kende,
 and of his ffadyr davyd the lord shal geve hym
 the se,
 Reynnyng in the hous of Jacob, of which regne shal
 be n(o) end.

Maria: Aungel, I sey to zow,
 in what maner of wyse shal this be?
 245 ffor knowyng of man I have non now:
 I have evyrmore kept and shal my virgynyte,
 I dowte not the wordes ge han seyde to me,
 But I aske how it shal be do.

Gabryel: The holy gost shal come fro above to the,
 250 and the vertu of hym hiest shal schadu the so,

Therefore that holy gost of the shal be bore,
 he shal be clepyd the son of god sage.
 and se Elyzabeth zour cosyn thore,
 she hath conseyyd a son in hyre age;
 255 This is the sexte monyth of here passage,
 [64a] of here that clepyd was bareyn.
 nothyng is impossyble to goddys usage:
 they thynkyth longe to here what ge wyl seyn.

here the aungel makyth a lytyl restyng and mary beholdyth
 hym, and the aungel seyth:

Mary, come of and haste the,
 260 and take hede in thyn entent
 whow the holy gost, blyssyd he be,
 Abydyth thin answe and thin assent.

239 ihesu] ihu MS

full form this

has full forms and, thyn

242 no] n̄ MS

259] MS has full form the

255] MS. has

260] MS

Thorwe wyse werke of dyvinyte
 the secunde persone, verament,
 is mad man by fraternyte, 265
 withinne thiself in place present.
 fferther more take hede this space,
 whow all the blyssyd spyrytys of vertu,
 that are in hefne byffore goddys face,
 and all the gode levers and trew, 270
 That are here in this erthely place,
 thyn owyn kynrede, the sothe ho knew,
 and the chosyn sowlys, this tyme of grace,
 that are in helle and byde rescu,

As Adam, Abraham, and davyd in fere, [64b]
 and many others of good reputacion,
 that thin Answered desyre to here,
 and thin Assent to the incarnation,
 In which thu standyst as p(re)se[r]vere,
 of all mankende savacion. 280
 gyff me myn answer now, lady dere,
 to all these creatures comfortacion.

Maria: with all mekenes I clyne to this acorde,
 bowynge down my face with all benyngnyte,
 Se here the hand-mayden of oure lorde, 285
 Aftyr thi worde be it don to me.

Gabryel: Gramercy, my lady ffre,
 Gramercy of zour answer on hyght,
 Gramercy of zour grett humylyte,
 Gramercy, ze lanterne off lyght. 290

264] MS has full form the
 forms thyn, and, and, these
 rescu substituted, H follows correction
 MS, presevere H

272, 273, 276 282] MS has full
 274 rescu] erased in MS and ther
 279 preservere] psever

here the holy gost discendit with iij bemys to oure lady, the
sone of the godhed ne[x]t with iij bemys to the holy gost, the
fadyr godly with iij bemys to the sone, and so entre all thre to
here bosom, and mary seyth:

[65 a] *Maria*: A! now I fele in my body be

parfyte god and parfyte man,
havyng all schappe of chylde carnalyte,
evyn all at onys, thus god began,

295 Not takynge ffyrst o membyr and sythe another,
but parfyte childhod ge have anon;
of your hand-mayden now have ge mad your modyr,
withowte peyne in fflesche and bon.

Thus conceyved nevyr woman non,

300 that evyr was beyng in this lyff.

O, myn hiest ffadyr, in your trone,

It is worthy your son, now my son, haue a p(re)rogatyff!

I can not telle what joy, what blysse,
now I fele in my body!

305 Aungel Gabryel, I thank you for this,
most mekely recomende me to my faderes mercy.
To haue be the modyr of god ffyl lytyl wend I.

Now myn cosyn Elizabeth ffayn wold I se,
how sche hath conseyyd, as ge dede specyfy.

310 Now blyssyd be the hyz trynyte!

[65 b] *Gabryel*: ffare weyl turtyl, goddys dowerere dere!

ffare wel goddys modyr, I the honowre!

ffare wel goddys sustyr, and his pleyng fere!

ffare wel goddys chawmere, and his bowre!

315 *Maria*: ffare wel Gabryel, specyalye!

ffare wel goddes mesangere expresse!

I thank you for your traveyl hye,

Gramercy of your grett goodnes!

after 290, in stage-direction:] MS has the fadyr, the son next]
nest MS, vest H 299] MS has full form thus 305] MS
has full form thus

And namely of zour comfortabyl massage,
ffor I vndyrstande by inspyracion
that ge knowe, by syngulere p(ri)uylage,
most of my sonys incarnacion.

320

I p(ra)y zow take it into usage,
be a custom ocupacion,
to vesitye me ofte be mene passage,
zour p(re)sence is my comfortacion.

325

Gabryel: At zour wyl, lady, so shal it be,
ze gentylllest of blood and hyst of kynrede
that reynyth in erth in ony degre,
be pryncypal incheson of the godhede!

330

I comende me onto zow, thu trone of the trinyte!
O! mekest mayde, now the modyr of ih(es)u!
qwen of hefne, lady of erth, and empres of helle be ze [66a]
socour to all synful that wol to zow sew.
Thorogzourbodyberyth the babe oure blysseshalrenew, 335
to zow, modyr of mercy, most mekely I recomende,
and as I began, I end, with an Ave new.
Enjonyd hefne and erth, with that I ascende.

Ang(e)li cantando istam sequenciam:

Aue maria, gr(aci)a plena,
d(omin)us tecum, uirgo se[r]ena.

323 pray] py MS 326 presence] psence MS 332 ihesu]
ihu MS after 338 Angeli] Angli MS gracia] gfa MS
dominus] dūs MS serena] sesena MS, serena H after se-
quenciam] MS had originally and mary sayth, now erased Fol.
66b is blank.

Joseph: How, dame, how! undo zoure dore, undo!

Are ze at hom? why speke ze notht?

Susanna: Who is ther? why cry ze so?

telle us zoure herand. Wy[l] ze ought?

5 *Joseph*: Undo zoure dore I sey zow to,
ffor to come in is all my thought.

Maria: it is my spowse that spekyth us to;
ondo the dore, his wyl were wrought.

Wellcome hom, myn husband dere,
10 how haue ze ferd in fer countre?

Joseph: To gete oure lyvyng, withowten dwere,
I haue sore laboryd for the and me.

Maria: husband, ryght gracyously now com be ze;
it solacyth me sore sothly to se zow in sy[ght].

15 *Joseph*: Me merveylyth, wyff, surely zoure face I can
not se,
but as the sonne with his bemys, qu(han) he is most
bry[ght].

Maria: husband, it is as it plesyth oure lord, that
grace of hym grew.

who that evyr beholdyth me veryly,
they shal be grettly steryd to vertu,
20 for this gyfte and many mo, good lord gramercy!

Joseph: how hast thu ferde, jentyll mayde,
whyl I haue be out of londe?

Maria: Sekyr, sere, beth now[ght] dysmayde,
ry[ght] after the wyl of goddys sonde.

4 wyl] wy MS, wyl H 14 syght] syth MS H 16
quhan] qû MS bryght] bryth MS H 23 nowght] nowth
MS H 24 ryght] ryth MS H

Joseph: That semyth evyl, I am afrayd,
 thi wombe to hyge doth stonde;
 I drede me sore I am betrayd.
 Su(m) other man the had in hande,
 hens sythe that I went. [67 b]
 Thy wombe is gret, it gynnyth to ryse,
 than hast thu begownne a synfull gyse.
 telle me now in what wyse
 thyself thu ast thus schent.

Ow, dame! what thinge menyth this?
 with childe thu gynnyth ry[ght] gret to gon.
 Sey me, Mary, this childys fadyr ho is?
 I p(ra)y the telle me and that anon.

Maria: The fadyr of hevyn and ze it is,
 Other fadyr hath he non;
 I dede nevyr forfeite with man i-wys,
 Wherfore I p(ra)y zow amende zour mon;
 this childe is goddys and zour.

Joseph: Goddys childe! thu lyst, in fay!
 God dede nevyr jape so with maye,
 And I cam nevyr ther, I dare wel sey,
 gitt so nyh thi boure.
 But git I sey, Mary, whoos childe is this?

Maria: Goddys and zoure, I sey i-wys.

Joseph: za, za, all olde men to me take tent,
 and weddyth no wyff in no kynnys wyse,
 that is a zonge wench, be myn asent,
 ffor dowte and drede and swich servyse.
 Alas! Alas! my name is shent,
 all men may me now dyspyse,

28 sum] sū MS 25, 30, 31, 33, 34] MS *has full forms*:
 that, Thy, than, thy, this 33 thinge] yinge MS 35 ryght]
 ryth MS H 41 pray] p̄y MS 42, 45, 47] MS *has full*
forms this, and, this

55 and seyn: "olde cokwold, thi bowe is bent
newly, after the frensche gyse."

[68a] Alas and welaway!

Alas, dame, why dedyst thou so?
for this synne that thou hast do

60 I the forsake and from the go,
ffor onys evyr and ay.

Maria: Alas, good spowse, why sey ze thus?

Alas, dere hosbund, amende zour mod.

It is no man but swete Ih(es)us,

65 he wyll be clad in flesch and blood,
and of zour wyff be born.

Sephor: ffor sothe, the aungell thus seyde he,

that goddys sone in trynite

ffor mannys sake a man wolde be,

70 to save that is forlorn.

Joseph: An aungell! alas! alas! fy for shame!

ze syn now in that ze [so] say.

to puttyn an aungel in so gret blame!

Alas! alas! let be! do way!

75 It was sum boy began this game,

that clothyde was clene and gay,

and ze zeve hym now an aungel name,

Alas! Alas! and welaway!

that evyr this game betyde!

80 A! dame, what thought haddyst thou?

here may all men this proverbe trow,

that many a man doth bete the bow,

another man hath the brydde.

[68b] *Maria*: A! gracyous god in hefne trone,

85 comforte my spowse in this hard case!

60, 62] MS has full forms the, thus 62 so] crossed out in MS
67 Sephor] H does not follow MS in giving the following speech to
Sephor, but makes her name a vocative, thus making Mary address her.
72 so] to MS H 79] MS has full form this

merciful god, amend his mone,
as I dede nevyr so gret trespas!

Joseph: lo! lo! seres, what told I gow?

that it was not for my prow

a wyff to take me to,

90

an[d] that is wel sene now,

ffor mary, I make god a vow,

is grett with childe, lo!

Alas! why is it so?

to the bussshop I wole it telle,

95

that he the lawe may here do,

with stonys here to qwelle.

Nay, nay, zett god fforbede

that I shuld do that ve[n]geabyl dede,

but if I wyst wol qwy.

100

I knew never in here, so god me spede,

tokyn of thyng in word nor dede,

that towchyd velany.

nevyr the les what for thy?

thow she be meke and mylde,

105

withowth mannys company

she myght not be with childe.

But I ensure myn was it nevyr.

thow that she hath not don here devyr,

rather than I shuld plenyn opynly,

110

Serteynly zitt had I levyr

fforsake the countre fforevyr,

and nevyr come in here company.

ffor [an] men knew this velany,

in repreff thei wolde me holde,

115

99 vengeabyl] vegeabyl MS H
thow 110] MS has full form
and H

109] MS has full form
114 an] & MS,

and zett many bettyr than I
 [69 a] ga hath ben made cokolde.
 Now alas! whedyr shal I gone?
 I wot nevyr whedyr nor to what place,
 120 ffor oftyn tyme sorwe comyth sone,
 and lenge it is or it pace.
 no comferte may I have here;
 I-wys, wyff, thu dedyst me wronge;
 alas! I taryed from the to longe.
 125 all men haue pety [on me] amonge,
 ffor to my sorwe is no chere.

Maria: God, that in my body art sesyd,
 thu knowist myn husbond is dysplesyd
 to see me in this plight;
 130 ffor vnknowlage he is desesyd,
 and therfore help that he were esyd,
 that he myght knowe the ful perfyght.
 ffor I haue levyr abyde respyt,
 to kepe thi sone in priuite,
 135 grauntyd by the holy spryt,
 than that it shulde be opynd by me.

[Scene 2]

Deus: Descende, I sey, myn aungelle,
 onto Joseph for to telle
 such as my wyl is.
 140 byd hym with mary abyde and dwelle,
 ffor it is my sone fful snelle
 that she is with, i-wys.

Angelus: Almyghty god of blys,
 I am redy ffor to wende

116] MS *has full form* than
 125 on me] onime MS

124 taryed] traryed H

wedyr as thi wyl is, 145
to go bothe fer and hynde.

Joseph! Joseph! thu wepyst sh[ry]le,
ffro thi wyff why comyst thu owte?

Joseph: Good sere, lete me wepe my fylle, [69b]
go forthe thi way and lete me nowght. 150

Angelus: In thi wepynge thu dost ryght ylle,
agens god thu hast mys wrought.

Go chere thi wyff. with herty wylle,
and chawnge thi chere, amende thi thought,
Sche is a ful clene may. 155

I telle the god wyl of here be born,
and sche clene mayd, as she was beforne,
to save mankynd that is forlorn;
Go, chere hyre therfore I say.

Joseph: A! lord god, benedicite!
of thi gret comforte I thank the,
that thu sent me this space.

I myght wel a wyst, parde!
so good a creature as she
wold nevyr a done trespase; 165
for she is ful of grace.

I know wel I haue mys wrought,
I walke to my pore place,
and aske forgyfnes, I haue my thought.
Now is the tyme sen at eye, 170
that the childe is now to veryfye,

which shal save mankende,
at it was spoke by prophesye;
I thank the, god that syttys on hye,
with hert, wyl, and mende 175
that evyr thu woldyst me bynde,
to wedde mary to my wyff,

147 shrylle] shrylle MS
173 prophesye] pphesye MS

161] MS has full form the

thi blysfyl sone so nere to fynde,
in his p(re)sens to lede my lyff.

180 Alas! ffor joy I qwedyr and qwake.
Alas! what hap now was this!

[70a] A! mercy! mercy! my jentyll make,
mercy! I haue seyde al amys.

All that I haue seyde here I forsake:

185 gour swete feet now lete me kys.

Maria: Nay, lett be my fete, not tho ge take,
my mowthe ge may kys, i-wys,
and welcom onto me.

Joseph: Gramercy, myn owyn swete wyff,

190 gramercy, myn hert, my love, my lyff;
shal I nevyr more make suche stryff
betwyx me and the.

A! mary, mary, wel thu be!
and blyssyd be the frewte in the,

195 goddys sone of myght!

now good wyff, full of pyte,
as be not evyl payd with me,

thow that thu haue good ryght,
as for my wronge in syght

200 to wyte the with any synne.

had thu not be a vertuous wy[ght]
god wold not a be the withinne.

I knowlage I haue don amys,

I was nevyr wurthy, i-wys,

205 ffor to be thin husbonde;

I shal amende aftere thys,

ryght as thin owyn wyl is

to serve the at foot and hande.

and thi chylde bothe to vndyrstonde,
 to wurchep hym with good affecion;
 and therfore telle me, and nothyng whonde,
 the holy matere of zour concepcion.

210

Maria: At zoure owyn wyll, as ze bydde me,—
 ther cam an aunge, hyght Gabryell,
 and gret me ffayr, and seyde ave.
 and ferthermore to me gan tell
 God shulde be borne of my bode,
 the ffendys powste for to felle,
 thorwe the holy gost, as I wel se;
 thus god in me wyl byde and dwelle.

215

220

Joseph: Now I thank god with spech and spelle
 that euer, mary, I was weddyd to the.

Maria: it was the werk of god, as I zow telle,
 now blyssyd be that lord, so purveyd for me!

214] MS *has full form* ther
 MS

217 shulde] shulde shulde

222] MS *has full form* the.

Maria: Butt, husbond of oo thyng I pray zow most
mekely,—

I haue knowyng that oure cosyn Elyzabeth with
childe is,—

that it plesse zow to go to here hastyly,

If owught we my[ght] comforte here it were to me
blys.

5 *Joseph*: A! goddys sake! is she with childe? sche!
than wole here husbond, zakarye, be mery.

In Montana they dwelle, fer hens, so mot [I] the,

In the cety of Juda, I knowe it verly;

It is hens, I trowe, myles two and ffyfty;

10 we are lyke to be wery or we come at that same.

I wole with a good wyl, blyssyd wyff mary:

now go we forthe than in goddys name.

Maria: Go[od] husbond, thow it be to zow peyne,
this jurny, I pray zow, let us go fast,

15 ffor I am schamfast of the pepyl to be seyne,

and namely of men, therof I am agast.

pylgrymages and helpynges wolde be go in hast;

the more the body is peynynd the more is the mede.

say ze zour devocionys and I shal myn i-cast,

20 now in this jurny god mote us spede!

Joseph: Amen! Amen! and evyrmore!

lo, wyff, lo! how starkly I go before.

et sic t(r)a nsient c(ir)ca placeam.

4 myght] myth MS 6, 7, 12, 14] MS *has full forms* than,
they, than, this 7 mot I] moty MS 13 good] goth MS
19 i-cast] reast H after 22 transient] tñsient MS circa]
cca MS

[Scene 2]

[71b]

Contemplacion: Sovereynes, vndyrstondyth that kynge
 davyd here
 ordeyned ffoure and twenty prestys of grett devocion,
 in the temple of god, aftere here let apere, ²⁵
 thei weryd clepyd summi sacerdotes, for here min-
 istracion,
 and on was prynce of prestys, havynge d(omi)na-
 cyon;
 amonge whiche was an old prest clepyd zakarye,
 and he had an old woman to his wyff, of holy
 conversacion,
 whiche hy[ght] Elizabeth, that nevyr had childe, ³⁰
 verylye.

In hese mynistracion, the howre of incense,
 the aungel gabryel apperyd hym to;
 that hese wyff shulde conseyye he gaff hym in-
 telligence;
 hese juge, hese vnwurthynes and age not belevyd so.
 The plage of dompnesse his lippis lappyd, lo! ³⁵
 thei wenten hom and his wyff was conseyyenge.
 this concepcion gabryel tolde oure lady to,
 and in soth sone aftere that sage sche was sekyng,
 and of here tweyners metyng
 here gynnyth the proces. ⁴⁰
 now god be oure begynnyng,
 and of my tonge I wole ses.

27 dominacyon] dñacyon MS
 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 39] MS *has full forms*: the, the, the, thei,
 this, and 30 hyght] hyth MS

[Scene 3]

Joseph: A! A! wyf, in feyth I am wery,
therfore I wole sytt downe and rest me ryght here.

45 lo! wyff, here is the hous of zakarye,
wole ze I clepe Elyzabeth to zow to apere?

[72a] *Maria*: Nay, husbond, and it plese zow I shal go ner.
now the blyssyd trynite be in this hous!

A! cosyn Elizabeth, swete modyr, what cher?
50 ze grow grett. A! my god, how ze be gracyous!

Elizabeth: Anon as I herd of zow this holy gretynge,
mekest mayden and the modyr of god, mary,
be zour breth the holy gost us was inspyrynge,
that the childe in my body enjoyd gretly,
55 and turnyd down on his knes to oure god rev-
erently,

whom ze bere in zour body, this verly I ken.
ffulfyllyd with the holy gost thus lowde I cry:
blyssyd be thu amonge all women,
and blyssyd be the frute of thi wombe also,
60 thu wurthyest virgyne and wyff that evyr was wrought,
how is it that the modyr of god me shulde come to,
that wrecche of all wrecchis, a whyght wers than
nought?

and thu art blyssyd that belevyd verly in thi
thought
that the wurde of god shulde profyte in the;
65 but how this blyssydnes abought was brought
I can not thynk nyn say how it myght be.

Maria: To the preysynge of god, cosyn, this seyde
must be:

Whan I sat in my lytyl hous, onto god praynge,

Gabryel come and seyde to me Ave;
 ther I conceyvyd god at my consentynge,
 parfyte god and p(ar)fyte man at onys beynge. ⁷⁰ [72b]
 than the aungel seyde onto me
 that it was sex monethys syn zour conseyyunge,
 this cawsyth my comynge, cosyn, zow to comfort
 and se.

Elizabeth: Blyssyd be ze, cosyn, for zour hedyr co- ⁷⁵
 how I conseyyd I shal to zow say. [mynge!
 the aungel apperyd the howre of incensynge,
 seyinge I shulde conseyye, and hym thought nay;
 sethe ffor his mystrost he hath be dowme alway,—
 and thus of my concepcion I haue tolde zow sum. ⁸⁰

Maria: ffor this holy psalme I begynne here this day:
 MAGNIFICAT ANIMA MEA DOMINUM,
 ET EXULTAVIT SP(IRIT)US MEUS IN DEO
 SALUTARI MEO!

Elizabeth: Be the holy gost with joye goddys son is
 in the cum,

that thi spyryte so [injoyid] the helth of thi god so. ⁸⁵

Maria: QUIA RESPEXIT HUMILITATEM ANCIL-
 L[A]E SU[A]E.

ECCE ENIM EX HOC BEATAM ME DICENT
 O[MN]ES GEN(ER)ACIONES.

Elizabeth: ffor he beheld the lownes of hese hand-
 maydeze,

so ferforthe ffor that all generacionys blysse zow
 in pes.

Maria: QUIA FECIT MI[HI] MAGNA QUI POTENS ⁹⁰
 EST,

ET SANCTUM NOMEN EIUS.

70, 72] MS *has full forms* ther, than
 pfyte MS 83 SPIRITUS] SPUS. MS 71 parfyte]
 jonyid MS 85 injoyid] in-
 86 ANCILLAE SUAE] ANCILLE SUE MS
 87 OMNES] OES MS 90 MIHI] MI MS

Elizabeth: ffor grett thynges he made, and also mygh-
tyest,

and ryght holy is the name of hym in vs.

[73a] *Maria*: ET M(ISERICORD)IA EIUS A PROGENIE
IN PROGENIES

95 TIMENTIBUS EUM.

Elizabeth: ga, the mercy of hym fro that kynde into
the kynde of pes,

ffor all that hym drede now is he cum.

Maria: FECIT POTENCIAM IN BRACHIO SUO,
DISSIPERSIT SUPERBOS MENTE CORDIS SUI.

100 *Elizabeth*: The pore in his ryght arme he hath mad so—
the prowde to dyspeyre [in] the thought of here
hertys only.

Maria: DEPOSUIT POTENTES DE SEDE
ET EXALTAVIT HUMILES.

Elizabeth: The prowde men fro hey setys put he,
105 and the lowly upon hey[ght] in the sete of pes.

Maria: ESSURIENTES IMPLEVIT BONIS,
ET DIVITES DIMISIT INANES.

Elizabeth: alle the pore and the nedy he fulfylllyth
with his goodys,
and the ryche he fellyth to voydnes.

110 *Maria*: SUSCEPIT ISRAEL PUERUM SUUM,
RECORDATUS EST MISERICORDI[A]E SU[A]E.

Elizabeth: Israel for his childe up toke he to cum,
On his mercy to thynk, ffor hese it be.

Maria: SICUT LOCUTUS EST AD P(AT)RES
N(OST)ROS,

115 ABRAHAM ET SEMINI EIUS IN S[A]ECULA.

93] MS has full form and 94 MISERICORDIA] MIA MS
100] MS has full form The 101 in] and MS 104] MS
has full form The 105 heyght] heyth MS 111 MISERI-
CORDIAE] MISERICORDE MS SUAE] SUE MS 114
PATRES NOSTROS] PĒRES NĒROS' MS 115 SAECULA]
SECUA MS

Elizabeth: as he spak here to oure forfaderys in clos,
Abraham and to all hese sed of hym in this
wer[l]d sa.

Maria: GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO
ET SPIRITUI SANCTO.

Elizabeth: preysyng be to the fadyr in hevyn, lo! 120
the same to the son here be so,
the holy gost also to ken.

Maria: SICUT ERAT IN PRINCIPIO ET NUNC [73b]
ET SEMPER

ET IN S[A]ECULA S[A]ECULOR[UM], AMEN.

Elizabeth: As it was in the begynnyng, and now is, 125
and shal be forevyr.

and in this wer[l]d in all good werkys to abydyn then

Maria: This psalme of p(ro)phesye seyde betwen us
tweyn,

in hefne it is wretyn with aungellys hond,
evyr to be songe and also to be seyn
euery day amonge us at oure evesong. 130

but cosyn Elyzabeth, I shal zow here kepe,
and this thre monethis abyde here now
tyl ze hav childe, to wasche, skore and swepe,
and in all that I may to comforte zow.

Elizabeth: A! ze, modyr of god, ze shewe us here how 135
we shulde be meke, that wrecchis here be.
All hefne and herthe wurchep zow now,
that are trone and tabernakyl of the hyz trinite.

Joseph: A! how do ze? how do ze, ffadyr zacharye?
we ffalle ffast in age, withowte oth. 140

117 world] werd MS	124 SAECULA SAECULORUM]
SECULA SECULOR MS	126 world] werd MS 126] MS
has full form then	127] MS has full form This prophesye]
pphesye MS	

why shake ze zour hed? haue ze the palsye?
 why speke ze not, sere? I trowe ze are not wroth.

Elizabeth: Nay, wys fadyr Ioseph, therto he were ful loth;
 it is the vesityac[i]on of god, he may not speke veryly,
 145 lete us thank god therffor both,
 he shal remedy it whan it plesyth his mercy,
 Come, I pray zow specialy,
 i-wys ze are welcome, mary. [god gramercy!]

Contemplacion: ffor this comfortablest comynge good
 150 *Joseph*: Of zour dissesse thynkys no greff, thank god
 of all aduersyte,
 ffor he wyl chastyse and repreff tho that he lovyth
 most hertyle.

Mary, I hold best that we go hens; we haue fer
 hom withowt fayl.

Maria: Al redy, husbond, withowt defens, I wyl werke
 be zour counsayl.

Cosyn, be zour leve and zour lycens, for homward
 now us must travayl.

155 of this refreschyng in zour p(re)sens god zeld zow,
 that most may avayl!

[74a] *Elizabeth*: Now, cosynes both, god zow spede, and
 wete zow wele withowtyn wo.

zour p(re)sens comfertyth me in dede, and therfore
 now am I ryght wo,

That ze, my ffrendys and my kynrede thus sone
 now shul parte me fro;

but I pray god he mote zow spede in every place
 wher so ze go.

here Mary and Elizabet partyn and Elizabeth goth to zakare and seyth:

144 vesityacion] vesityacon MS
 with stage direction: si placet.

156 wo] mo erased in MS and wo substituted, H follows the correction
 157 presens] psens MS 158] MS has full form that 159
 spede] erased in MS and lede substituted, H follows the correction.

147-149] in a footnote,
 155 presens] psens MS

Good husbond, ryse up, I beseke zow and go we ¹⁶⁰
to the temple now fast,
to wurcheþ god with that we mow, and thank hym
bothe, this is my cast,
of the tyme that is comynge now, ffor now is cum
mercy and venjauns is past;
good wyl be born for mannys prow, to brynge us
to blysse that ever shal last.
Contemplacion: lystenyth, sovereynes, here is a con-
clusion:

how the Aue was mad here is lernyd us, ¹⁶⁵
the aungel seyð: AVE, G(RAT)IA PLENA,
D(OMIN)US TECUM,
BENEDICTA TU IN MULIERIBUS.

Elyzabeth seyð: ET BENEDICTUS
FRUCTUS VENTRIS TUI, thus the church addyd
MARIA and IH(ES)US her.

who seyth oure ladyes sawtere dayly, ffor a ȝer thus, ¹⁷⁰
he hath pardon ten thowsand and eyte hundryd ȝer.

Than ferther to oure matere for to p(ro)cede,—
Mary with Elizabeth abod ther styлле
iij monthys fully, as we rede,
thankynge god with hertly wylle. ¹⁷⁵

A! lord god! what hous was this on
that [held] these childeryn and here moders to,
as Mary and Elizabeth, Ih(es)us and John,
and Joseph and ȝakarye also.

and evyr our lady abod styлле thus, ¹⁸⁰
tyl John was of his modyr born,
and than ȝakarye spak, i-wys,
that had be downm and his spech lorn.

166 GRATIA] GĪA MS DOMINUS] DŪS MS 169, 172,
185] MS *has full forms* thus, than, they, them 169, 178 Ihesus]
Ihūs MS 177 held] *omit* MS H

185 he and Elizabeth p(ro)phesyed as thus
 they mad BENEDICTUS them befor,
 and so MAGNIFICAT and BENEDICTUS
 ffyrst in that place ther made worn.

Whan all was done, oure lady fre
 toke here leve than aftere this
 190 at Elizabeth and zakarie,
 and kyssyd John, and gan hym blys.
 Now most mekely we thank gu of zour pacyens,
 and beseke gu of zour good supportacion.
 If here hath be seyde ore don any inconueniens
 195 we asygne it to zour good deliberac[ion],
 Besekynge to crystes p(re)cious passyon
 conserve and rewarde zour hedyr comynge.
 With Aue we begunne and Aue is oure conclusyon.
 AVE REGINA C[A]ELORUM, to oure ladye we
 synge.

189] MS *has full forms* than, this
 torn 196 precious] p̄cious MS
 CELORUM MS

195 deliberacion] MS
 199 CAELORUM]

Joseph: Lord! what travayl to man is wrought!

Rest in this wer[l]d behovyth hym non;

Octauyan, oure Emp(er)our, sadly hath besought

Oure trybute hym to bere, folk must forth ichon,

It is cryed in every bourgh and cety be name. 5

I that am a pore tymbrewry[ght], born of the blood
of dauyd,

the Emp(er)oures comawndement I must holde with,
and ellys I were to blame.

now, my wyff mary, what sey ze to this?

for sekyr nedys I must fforth wende 10

onto the cyte of bedleem, fer hens i-wys,

thus to labore I must my body bende.

Maria: Myn husbond and my spowse, with zow wyl
I wende,

A syght of that cyte ffayn wolde I se;

If I myght of myn alye ony ther ffynde, 15

it wold be grett joye onto me.

Joseph: My spowse, ze be with childe, I fere zow to kary,
ffor me semyth it were werkys wylde;

but zow to plese ryght ffayn wold I,

zitt women ben ethe to greve whan thei be with 20
childe.

now latt us fforth wende as fast as we may,

and almyghty god spede us in oure jurnay!

2 werld] werd MS

6 tymbrewryght] tymbrewryth MS

benethe H

3, 7 Emperour] Emprour MS

20 ben ethe]

[Scene 2]

Maria: A! my swete husbond, wold ze telle to me,
what tre is gon, standynge upon gon hylle?

²⁵ *Joseph*: fforsothe, mary, it is clepyd a chery tre;
In tyme of zere ze myght ffede zow theron zour fylle.

Maria: Turne ageyn, husbond, and beholde gon tre,
how that it blomyght now so swetly!

[82b] *Joseph*: Cum on, mary, that we worn at gon cyte!

³⁰ or ellys we may be blamyd, I telle zow, lythly.

Maria: Now, my spowse, I pray zow to behold
how the cheryes growyn upon gon tre;
ffor to haue therof ryght ffayn I wold,
and it plesyd zow to labore so meche for me.

³⁵ *Joseph*: zour desyre to ffyllylle I shal assay sekyrly.
Ow! to plucke zow of these cherries it is a werk wylde,
ffor the tre is so hyz it wold not be [don] lyghtly,
therfore lete hym pluk zow cheryes begatt zow with
childe.

Maria: Now, good lord, I pray the graunt me this boun,
⁴⁰ to haue of these cherries, and it be zour wylle.
now I thank [the], god, this tre bowyth to me down;
I may now gaderyn anowe and etyn my fylle.

Joseph: Ow! I know weyl I haue offendyd my god
in trinyte,
spekyng to my spowse these vnkynde wurdes;
⁴⁵ ffor now I beleve wel it may non other be
but that my spowse beryght the kyngys son of blys,—
he help us at oure nede!

36] MS has full form these
44] MS has full forms the, these

37 don] omit MS H
41 the] it MS H

of the kynrede of Iesse worthely were ge bore,
 kynges and patryarkys zow beffore,
 all these wurthy of zour kynred wore,
 as clerkys in story rede.

50

Maria: Now, gramercy, husbond, for zour report!
 In oure weys wysely late us forth wende.
 the fadyr all myghty he be oure comfort!
 the holy gost gloryous he be oure frende!

55

[Scene 3]

[83a]

Joseph: Heyl, wurchepful sere, and good day!
 a cetecyn of this cyte ge seme to be,
 Of herborwe ffor [my] spowse and me I zow pray,
 ffor trewly this woman is fful weré,
 and fayn at reste, sere, wold she be.
 we wolde ffulffylle the byddyng of oure emp(er)o(ure),
 ffor to pay trybute as ryght is oure,
 and to kepe oureselfe ffrom dolowre
 we are come to this cyte.

60

Ciues: Sere, ostage in this towne know I non,
 thin wyff and thu in for to slepe;
 this cete is besett with pepyl every-won,
 and zett thei ly withowte fful every strete.

65

withinne no wall, man, comyst thu now[ght],
 be thu onys withinne the cyte gate;
 onethys in the strete a place may be sow[ght],
 theron to rest withowte debate.

70

58 my] omit MS H 61 emperoure] empô MS 67 and
 68] MS has full forms this, and 69 and 74 nowght] nowth
 MS 71 sowght] sowth MS

Joseph: Nay, sere, debate that wyl I now[ght],
 all suche thyngys passyn my powere,
 75 but gitt my care and all my thought
 is for mary, my derlynge dere.

A! swete wyff, what shal we do?
 wher shal we logge this nyght?
 Onto the fadyr of heffne pray we so
 80 vs to kepe ffrom every wykkyd w[ygh]t.

Ciues: Good man, o word I wyl the sey,
 if thu wylt do by the counsell of me,
 zonder is an hous of haras that stant be the wey,
 amonge the bestys herberyd may ze be.

[83 b] *Maria*: Now the fadyr of hefne he mut zow zelde!
 86 his sone in my wombe forsothe he is;
 he kepe the and thi good be fryth and ffelde!
 go we hens, husbond, for now tyme it is.
 But herk now, good husbond, a newe relacyon
 90 which in my self I know ryght well:
 Crist in me hath take incarnation,
 sone wele be borne, the trowthe I fele.

in this pore logge my chawmere I take,
 here for to abyde the blyssyd byrth
 95 of hym that all this wer[l]d dude make;
 betwyn my sydys I fele he styrt.

Joseph: god be thin help, spowse, it swemyth me sore
 thus febyly loggyd and in so pore degre
 goddys sone amonge bestes ffor to be bore;
 100 his woundyr werkys ffulfyllid must be

in a hous that is desolat, withowty any wall,—
ffyer nor wood non here is.

Maria: Joseph, myn husbond, abydyn here I shal,
ffor here wyl be born the kyngys sone of blys.

Joseph: Now, jentyll wyff, be of good myrth, 105
and if ze wyl owght haue telle me what ze thynk;
I shal not spare for schep nor derth,—
now telle me zour lust of mete and drynk.

Maria: ffor mete and drynk lust I ryght now[ght],
allmyghty god my fode shal be. 110
now that I am in chawmere brought,
I hope ryght well my chylde to se.
Therefore, husbond, of zour honeste [84 a]
avoyd zow hens out of this place,
and I alone with humylite 115
here shal abyde goddys hyz grace.

Joseph: All redy, wyff, zow for to plese,
I wyl go hens out of zour way,
and seke sum mydwyuys zow for to ese,
whan that ze trauayle of childe this day. 120
ffare well, trewe wyff, and also clene may!
God be zour comforte in trinyte!

Maria: to god in hevyn for zow I pray,
he zow p(re)serve wherso ze be!

hic dum Ioseph est absens parit Maria filium vnigenitum.

[Scene 4]

125 *Joseph*: Now god, of whom comyth all releffe,
 and as all grace in the is grownde,
 so saue my wyff from hurt and greff
 tyl I sum mydwyuys for here haue fownde!
 Truelynge women in care be bownde
 130 with grete throwys whan thei do grone;
 god helpe my wyff that sche not swownde,
 I am ful sory sche is alone.

It is not conuenient a man to be
 ther women gon in travalyng,
 135 wherfore sum mydwyff ffayn wold I se,
 my wyff to helpe that is so zenge.

[84b] *zelomy*: Why makyst thu, man, suche mornyng?
 telle me sum dele of zour gret mone.

Joseph: my wyff is now in gret longynge
 140 trauelyng of chylde, and is alone.
 ffor godys loue that sytt in trone,
 as ze [be] mydwyuys that kan zour good,
 help my zonge spowse in haste anone,—
 I drede me sore of that fayr food.

145 *Salome*: be of good chere and of glad mood!
 we ij mydwyuys with the wyl go;
 ther was nevyr woman in such plyght stood,
 but we were redy here help to do.

My name is Salomee, all men me knowe
 150 ffor a mydwyff of wurthy fame.
 whan women travayl grace doth growe,
 theas I come I had nevyr shame.

zelomy: and I am zelomye, men knowe my name;
 we tweyn with the wyl go togedyr,

and help thi wyff fro hurt and grame. 155
Com forth, Joseph, go we strey[ght] thedyr.

Joseph: I thank gow, damys, ge comforte my lyff.
streyte to my spowse walke we the way.
In this pore logge lyght mary, my wyff,
hyre for to comforte gode frendys assay. 160

Salome: We dare not entre this logge in fay,
ther is therin so gret bryghtnes;
mone be nyght nor sunne be day
Shone nevyr so clere in ther lyghtnesse. [85a]

gelomye: Into this hous dare I not gon, 165
the woundyrfful lyght doth me affray.

Joseph: than wyl myself gon in alon,
and chere my wyff if that I may.

[Scene 5]

All heyl, maydon and wyff! I say,
how dost thu fare? telle me thi chere. 170
the for to comforte in gesyne this day
tweyn gode mydwyuis I haue brought here.

The for to help, that art in harde bonde,
gelomye and Salomee be com with me;
ffor dowte of drede withowte thei do stond, 175
and dare not come in for lyght that they se.

hic maria subridendo dicat:

Maria: The myght of the godhede in his mageste
wyl not be hyd now at this whyle;

the chylde that is born wyl preve his modyr fre,
 180 a very clene mayde, and therfore I smyle.

Joseph: Why do ze lawghe, wyff? ze be to blame;

I pray zow, spowse, do no more so,
 In happ the mydwyuys wyl take it to grame,
 and at zour nede helpe wele non do.

185 Iff ze haue nede of mydwyuys, lo!
 P(er)aventure thei wyl gon hens,
 therfore be sad, and ze may so,
 and wynnyth all the mydwyuis good diligens.

[85b] *Maria*: husbond, I pray zow dysplese zow now[ght],

190 thow that I lawghe and gret joye haue.
 here is the chylde this werde hath wrought,
 born now of me that all thyng shal saue.

Joseph: I aske zow grace, for I dyde raue,

O, gracyous childe, I aske mercy!
 195 as thu art lord and I but knaue,
 fforgeue me now my gret foly!

Alas! mydwyuis, what haue I seyde?

I pray zow com to us more nere,
 ffor here I fynde my wyff a mayd,
 200 and in here arme a chylde hath here;
 bothe mayd and modyr sche is in fere,
 that god wole haue may nevyr more fayle.

Salome: modyr on erth was nevyr non clere,
 withowth sche had in byrth travayle.

205 *zelomy*: In byrth trauayle muste sche nedys haue,
 or ellys no chylde of here is born.

Joseph: I pray zow, dame, and ze vowchesaue,
 com se the chylde my wyff befor.

Salome: Grete god be in this place!

Swete systyr, how fare ze?

210

Maria: I thank the fadyr of his hyz grace,
his owyn son and my chylde here ze may se.

zelomye: All heyl, mary, and ryght good morn!
who was mydwyfe of this ffayr chylde?

Maria: he that nothyng wyl haue forlorn
Sent me this babe, and I mayd mylde.

215

zelomye: with honde lete me now towch and fele; [86a]
yf ze haue nede of medycyn,
I shal zow comforte and helpe ryght wele,
as other woman, yf ze haue pyn.

220

Maria: Of this fayr byrth, that here is myn,
peyne nere grevyng fele I ryght non.
I am clene mayde and pure virgyn,
tast with zour hand zour self alon.

hic palpat zelomye beatam virginem, dicens:

zelomy: O myghtfulle god! haue mercy on me!
a merveyle that nevyr was herd befor
here opynly I fele and se,—
a fayr chylde of a mayden is born,
and nedyth no waschyng as other don.
fful clene and pure forsoth is he,
withowtyn spott or ony polucyon,
his modyr nott hurte of virgynite.

225

230

Coom nere, good systyr Salome;
beholde the brestys of this clene mayd,
fful of fayr mylke how that thei be,
and hyre chylde clene, as I fyrst sayd;
as other ben now[ght] fowle arayd,
but clene and pure both modyr and chylde.

235

of this matyr I am dysmayd,
 240 to se them both thus vndefyled.

Salome: It is not trewe, it may nevyr be,
 that bothe be clene I can not beleve;
 a maydes mylke never man dyde se,
 ne woman bere chylde withowte grett greve.

[86b] I shal nevyr trowe it but I it preve,
 with hand towchyng but I assay;
 in my conscience it may nevyr cleve
 that sche hath chylde and is a may.

Maria: zow for to put clene out of dowth,
 250 towch with your hand and wele asay,
 wysely ransake and trye the trewth owth,
 whethyr I be fowlyd or a clene may.

hic tangit Salomee Mariæ, et cum arescit manus eius uluerando, et quasi flendo dicit:

Salomee: Alas! Alas! and weleaway!
 ffor my grett dowth and fals beleve,
 255 myne hand is ded and drye as claye,
 my fals vntrost hath wrought myscheve.

Alas! the tyme that I was born!
 thus to offende agens goddys myght!
 myn handys power is now all lorn,
 260 styff as a stykke, and may now[ght] plyght,
 ffor I dede tempte this mayde so bryght,
 and holde agens here pure clennes;
 in grett myscheff now am I pyght,
 Alas! alas! for my lewdnes.

240] MS has full forms them, thus
 thus 260 nowght] nowth MS

258] MS has full form

O! lord of myght, thu knowyst the trowth,
that I haue evyr had dred of the. 265

On every power whyght evyr I haue rowthe,
and gove hem almes for loue of the.

Bothe wyff and wedowe that askyght for the,
and frendles chyldryn that haddyn gret nede, 270
I dude them cure and all for the, [87 a]
and toke no rewarde of them nor mede.

Now as a wrecch, ffor fals beleve
that I showyed in temptynge this mayde,
my hand is ded and doth me greve. 275

Alas! that evyr I here assayde!

Angelus: woman, thi sorwe to haue delayde
wurcheþ that childe that ther is born;
towch the clothis ther he is layde,
ffor he shal saue all that is lorn. 280

Salomee: O! gloryous chylde and kyng of blysse!

I aske gow mercy for my trespase,
I knowlege my synne, I demyd amys,
O! blyssyd babe, grawnt me sum grace!
Of gow, mayde, also here in this place, 285
I aske mercy, knelynge on kne!
moste holy mayde, grawnt me solace,
Sum wurde of comferte sey now to me.

Maria: As goddys aungel to gow dede telle,
my chylde is medycyn ffor every sor;
towch his clothis, be my cowncelle,
goure hand ful sone he wyl restor. 290

hic Salomee tangit fimbriam Chr(ist)i, dicens:

Salomee: A! now blyssyd be this chylde euermore!
the sone of god forsothe he is.

295 [he] hath helyd myn hand that was forlore,
thorwe ffals beleve and demynge amys.

[87b] In every place I shal telle this,
Of a clene mayde that god is born,
and in oure lyknes god now clad is,
300 mankend to saue that was forlorn;
his modyr a mayde as sche was beforne,
natt fowle polutyd as other women be,
but fayr and fresche as rose on thorn,
lely wyte, clene with pure virginyte.

305 Of this blyssyd babe my leve now do I take,
and also of zow, hyz modyr of blysse:
Of this grett meracle more knowlege to make
I shal go telle it in iche place, i-wys.

Maria: ffare wel, good dame, and god zour way wysse!

310 In all zour jurnay god be zour spede!
and of his hyz mercy that lord so zow blysse
that ze nevyr offende more in word, thought, nor
dede.

zelomy: And I also do take my leve here
of all this blyssyd good company,

315 praynge zour grace bothe fere and nere
on us to spede zour endles mercy.

Joseph: The blyssyng of that lord, that is most myghty,
mote sprede on zow in every place!

Of all zour enmyes to haue the victory,
320 God, that best may, grawnt zow his grace! Amen!

[PLAY] 16. [THE SHEPHERDS' PLAY.]

[88b]

Angelus ad pastores dicit Gl(or)ia in excelsis deo.(88a)
blank

Ang(e)l(u)s: Joye to god that sytt in hevyn,
 and pes to man on erthe grownde!
 A chylde is born benethe the levyn,
 thurwe hym many ffolke shul be vnbownde.
 Sacramentys ther shul be vij
 wonnyn thorwe that childys wounde,
 Therefore I synge a joyful stevene,
 the flowre of frenchep now is founde!
 God that wonyght on hyz
 he is gloryed mannys gost to wynne,
 he hath sent salue to mannys synne,
 pes is comyn to mannys kynne
 thorwe goddys hyze wysdam, I say.

5

10

I^{us} pastor: Maunfras, Maunfras, felawe myn!
 I saw a grett lyght with shene shyne,
 git saw I nevyr so mervely syne
 Shapyn upon the skyes.
 It is bryghtere than the sunne bem;
 It comyth ryght ouer all this rem;
 Evyn above bedleem
 I saw it brenne thryes.

15

20

ij^{us} pastor: Thu art my brother boosras,
 I haue beholdyn the same pas,
 I trowe it is tokenynge of gras
 that shynynge shewyght befor.

[89a]

Gloria] Glia MS 1 Angelus] Angls MS 6 thorwe]
 thowe *original reading of* MS 7 MS *has full form* therefore
 13 hyze wysdam I say] *two other readings crossed out and illegible*
in MS 15 shene] *corrected in MS by breme and bryght; H*
reads, bryght 22, 30] MS *has full forms* Thu, thow

Balaam spak in p(ro)phesye,
 a lyght shuld shyne upon the skye
 whan a sone of a mayd marye
 in bedleem were i-born.

30 *ij^{us} pastor*: thow I make lytyl noyse,
 I am an herde that hattyht Moyse;
 I herde carpynge of a creyse
 Of Moyses in his lawe.
 Of a mayd a barne born
 35 on a tre he shulde be torn,
 delyver folkys that arn forlorn,
 The chylde shulde be slawe.

i^{us} pastor: Balaam spak in p(ro)phecie,
 out of jacob shuld shyne a skye,
 40 many ffolke he shulde bye
 with his bryght blood.
 Be that bryght blod that he shulde blede
 he shal us brynge fro the develys drede,
 as a duke most dowty in dede,
 45 thorwe his deth on rode.

ij^{us} pastor: Amos spak with mylde methe:
 A frute swettere than bawmys brethe,
 his deth shuld slen oure sowlys deth,
 and drawe us all from helle.
 50 Therfore such lyght goth befor
 [89b] in tokyn that the childe is born

26, 38 prophesye] pphesye MS 30 noyse] noyse of this H
 following a late substitution in the MS 31 herde] herdeman
 and hattyht mose] hattyht sayyng amyce H following late hand
 in MS 32 carpynge of a creyse] spekyng of a chylde of blys H
 following late hand in MS 34 barne born] child shuld be
 borne H and late hand in MS 37] MS has full form The
 47, 49, 50] MS has full forms than, and, therefore

which shal saue that is forlorn,
As p(ro)phetys gonne spelle.

ij^{us} pastor: Danyel, the p(ro)phete thus gan speke:

wyse god from woo us wreke! 55
thi bryght hevyn thu to-breke
and medele the with a mayde!
This p(ro)phecye is now spad,
Cryst in oure kende is clad,
therefore mankend may be glad, 60
As p(ro)phetys befor han seyde.

Content: Gloria in excelsis deo.

i^{us} pastor: The p(ro)phecye of Boosdras is spedly sped,
now leyke we hens as that lyght us lede;
myght we se onys that bryght on bed,
oure bale it wolde vnbynde. 65

We shulde shadyr for no shoure,—
buske we us hens to bedleem boure
to se that fayr fresch flowre,
the mayde mylde in mynde.

ij^{us} pastor: lete us follwe with all oure myght, 70
with songe and myrth we shul us dyght,
and wurchep with joye that wurthy wyght
that lord is of mankynne.

lete us go fforthe fast on hye,
and honowre that babe wurthylye [90a]
with merthe, songe, and melodye,— 76
haue do! this songe begynne!

tunc pastores cantabunt: Stella celi extirpauit, quo f(ac)to ibunt ad querendum Christum.

53, 54, 58] prophet etc.] pphet etc. MS 62 a B is written in the margin here in the MS, an A at line 78, and a C at line 90. H follows this suggested reārrangement, although the original arrangement seems quite as satisfactory. 58, 62, 69, 75] MS has full forms this, The, the, and 65 bale] late hand substitutes sorwe, which H accepts 66 shadyr] MS and H; later hand substitutes not let 67 buske] MS and H; later hand substitutes Go after 77 facto] fto MS

[Scene 2: On the road to Bethlehem.]

i^{us} pastor: Ey! Ey! this was a wondyr note,
that was now songyn above the sky;

80 I haue that voys fful wele I-wote:
thei songe gle, glo, glory.

ij^{us} pastor: Nay, so mot [I] the, so was it now[ght],
I haue that songe fful wele i-num,
in my wytt weyl it is wrought:

85 It was gle, glo, glas, glum.

ij^{us} pastor: The songe methought it was glory,
and aftyrwarde he seyde us to:
ther is a chylde born shal be a prynce myghty,
ffor to seke that chylde I rede we go.

[Scene 3: In the Stable.]

90 *i^{us} pastor*: heyle, floure of floures! fayrest i-fownde!
heyle, perle peerles, prime rose of prise!
heyl, blome on bedde! we shul be vnbownde
with thi bloddy woundys and werkys full wyse.
heyl, god grettest, I grete the on grownde!

95 the gredy devyl shal grone grysly as a gryse,
whan thu wynnyst this worlde with thi wyde wounde,
and puttyst man to paradys with plenty of prys.
to loue the is my delyte,

[90b] heyl, floure fayr and fre!

100 lyght from the trynyste!
heyl! blyssyd mote thou be!
heyl, mayde fayrest in sight!

ij^{us} pastor: heyl, floure ovyr floure, fowndyn in fryght!
heyl, Cryst kynde in oure kyth!

105 heyl, werker of wele to wonyn us wyth!

82 mot I] moty MS nowght] nowth MS 84 wytt] last
two letters illegible in MS 86] MS has full form The

heyl, wynnere, i-wys!
 heyl, fformere and ffrende!
 heyl, ffellere of the fende!
 heyl, clad in oure kende!
 heyl, prince of paradys!

110

ij^{us} pastor: heyl, lord ouer lordys that lyggest ful lowe!
 heyl, kyngge ovyr kynges, thi kynrede to knowe!
 heyl, comely kny[ght], the deuyl to ouerthrowe!
 heyl, floure of alle!
 heyl, werkere to wynne
 bodyes bowndyn in synne!
 heyl, in a bestys bynne
 bestad in a stalle!

115

Joseph: herdys on hylle, bethe not styлле,
 but seyth gour wylle to many a man,
 how god is born this mery morn;
 that is forlorn fyndyn he can.

120

i^{us} pastor: we shul telle be dale and hylle
 how harwere of helle was born this nyght.
 myrth is to melle and fendys to quelle,
 that were so felle agens his ryght.

125

ij^{us} pastor: ffare wel, babe and barne of blys!
 ffare wel, lord that lovely is!
 the to wurchep thi feet I kys,
 on knes to the I falle.
 The to wurchep I falle on kne,
 all this wer[l]d may joye of the;
 now farewell, lorde of gret pouste!
 za, farewell kyngge of alle!

130

ij^{us} pastor: Thow I be the last that take my leve,
 zit, fayre mullynge, take it not at no greve.

135

now, fayre babe, wele mut thu cheve!
ffayr chylde, now haue good day!
ffareweyl, myn owyn dere derlyng!

140 I-wys, thu art a ryght fayr thyng.
ffarewel, my lorde and my swetyng!
ffarewel, born in pore aray!

Maria: Now ze herdmen, wol mote ze be!
ffor goure omage and zour syngynge
145 my sone shal aqwyte zow in hefne se,
and zeve zow all ryght good hendynge. Amen.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE YORK PLAYS.

Many emendations have been suggested for this text. Most of them are entirely futile, though some are suggestive. I have noted in the variants all that seem in any way significant. The articles referred to are: Holthausen, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Text-Kritik der York Plays*, *Herrig's Archiv* 85. 411-428, and Holthausen, *Zu Alt- und Mittelenglischen Dichtungen*, *Anglia* 21. 443, both of these referred to as H; Kölbing, *Kleine Beiträge zur Erklärung und Text-Kritik Vor-Shakespere'scher Dramen*, *Engl. Stud.* 20. 187-190, 21. 162-175, referred to as K; Hall, *Text Emendation of the York Plays*, *Engl. Stud.* 9. 450-459. Two other articles which have little or no bearing on these particular plays are: Luick, *Text-Kritik der Spiele von York*, *Anglia* 22. 384, and Coblentz, *Suggested Rime Emendations*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 10. 77-81.

XII. THE SPICERS.

[The Prophets, The Annunciation, and the Visitation.] [42a]

[Scene 1]

[*Prologue*:] Lord God, grete meruell es to mene,

How man was made withouten mysse,
And sette whare he sulde euer haue bene

Withouten bale, bidand in blisse,
And howe he lost þat comforth clene,

5

And was putte oute fro paradys,
And sithen what sorouse [s]or warre sene

Sente vnto hym and to al his,
And how they lay lange space

In helle lokyn fro lyght,
Tille God graunted þam grace

10

Of helpe, as he hadde hyght.

þan is it nedfull for to neven,
How prophettis all good counsailes kende,

Als prophet Amos in his steven,

15

Lered whils he in his liffe gun lende.

DEUS PATER DISPOSUIT SALUTEM FIERI IN

MEDIO TERR[A]E, ETCE.

He sais þus, god þe fadir in heuen
Ordand in erthe man kynde to mende;

And to grayth it with godhede euen,

His sone he saide þat he suld sende,

20

To take kynde of man-kyn

In a mayden full mylde;

So was many saued of syn

And the foule fende be-gyled.

- 25 And for the feende suld so be fedd
 Be tyne, and to no treuth take tentt,
 God made þat mayden to be wedde,
 Or he his sone vnto hir sentte.
 So was the godhede closed and cledde
 30 In wede of weddyng whare th[e]y wente.
 And þat oure blysse sulde so be bredde,
 Ful many materes may be mente.

QUONIAM IN SEMINE TUO BENEDICENTUR
 OMNES GENTES, &C.

- [42b] God hymself sayde this thyng
 To Abraham als hym liste,
 35 Of thy sede sall vppe spryng
 Wharein folke sall be bliste.
 To proue thes prophettes ordande er,
 Als I say vnto olde and yenge,
 He moued oure myscheues for to merr;
 40 For thus he prayed god for this thyng,
 [R]ORATE C[A]ELI DESUPER,
 Lord, late þou doune at thy likyng
 þe dewe to fall fro heuen so ferre,
 For than the erthe sall sprede and spryng
 45 A seede þat vs sall saue,
 þat nowe in blisse are bente.
 Of clerkis who-so will craue,
 þus may þer-gatis be mente:
 þe dewe to þe gode halygaste
 50 May be remeued in mannes mynde,
 The erthe vnto þe mayden chaste,
 By-cause she comes of erthely kynde.

27 wedde] so S, wedded MS 30 they] so K, thy MS
 S sho H 37 er] MS has this at beginning of 38, S follows
 MS and inserts a wer at end of 37 41 RORATE CAELI]
 ORATE CELI, MS, S 44 the] of K 46 bente]
 blente H

þir wise wordis ware noght wrought in waste,
 To waffe and wende away als wynde,
 For this same prophett sone in haste 55
 Saide forthermore, als folkes may fynde :

PROPTER HOC DABIT DOMINUS IPSE VOBIS
 SIGNUM, &C.

Loo! he sais þus, god sall gyffe
 Here-of a [sygne] to see
 Tille all þat lely lyffe,
 And þis þare sygne salbe. 60

ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET, ET PARIET FILI-
 UM, &C.

Loo! he sais a mayden mon,
 Here on this molde mankynde omell,
 Ful clere consayue and bere a sonne,
 And neven his name Emanuell.
 His kyngdom, þat euer is be-gonne, 65
 Sall never sese, but dure and dwell;
 On dauid sege þore sall he wonne,
 His domes to deme and trueth to telle.

ZELUS DOMINI FACIET HOC, &c. [43a]

He says luffe of oure Lorde
 All þis sall ordan þanne, 70
 That mennes pees and accorde
 To make with erthely manne.

More of þis mayden me meves [he],
 This prophett sais for oure socoure,
 EGREDIETUR VIRGA DE JESSE, 75
 A wande sall brede of Jesse boure :
 And of þis same also sais hee,

58 sygne] sygne MS, S 63 Ful] sal K 70 ordan]
 ordan MS 73 me] omit Hall meves] menes H
 he] omit MS

Vppone þat wande sall springe a floure,
 Wher-on þe haly gast sall be,
 80 To governe it with grete honnoure.

That wande meynes vntill vs
 þis mayden, even and morne,
 And þe floure is Jesus,
 þat of þat blyst bees borne.

85 þe prophet Johell, a gentill Jewe,
 Som-tyme has saide of þe same thyng:
 He likenes criste euen als he knewe,
 Like to þe dewe in doune commyng.

ERO QUASI ROS ET VIRGO ISRAELL GER-
 MINABAT SICUT LILIUM.

þe maiden of Israell al newe,
 90 He sais, sall bere one and forthe brynge,
 Als þe lelly floure full faire of hewe.
 þis meynes sa to olde and zenge
 þat þe hegh haly gaste

Come oure myscheffe to mende
 95 In marie mayden chaste,
 When god his sone walde sende.

þis lady is to þe lilly lyke,
 þat is by-cause of hir clene liffe,
 For in þis worlde was never slyke,
 100 One to be mayden, modir, and wyffe,
 [43 b] And hir sonne kyng in heuen-ryke,
 Als oft es red be reasoune ryfe,
 And hir husband bath maister and meke,
 In charite to stynte all striffe.

105 þis passed all worldly witte,
 How god had ordand þaim þanne,

In hir one to be knytte,
 Godhed, maydenhed, and manne.
 Bot of þis werke grete witnes was
 With forme-ffaders, all folke may telle,
 Whan Jacob blyst his sone Judas,
 He told þe tale þaim two emell;

110

NON AUFERETUR S[C]EPTRUM DE JUDA,
 [DONEC] UENIAT QUI MITTENDUS EST.

He sais þe septer sall noght passe
 Fra iuda lande of Israell,
 Or he comme þat god ordand has
 To be sente, feendis force to fell.

115

ET IPSE ERIT EXPECTACIO GENCIUM.

Hym sall alle folke abyde,
 And stand vn-to his steuen,
 Ther sawes wer signified
 To crist, goddis sone in heuen.

120

For howe he was sente, se we more,
 And howe god wolde his place puruay,
 He saide, sonne, I sall sende byfore
 Myne Aungell to rede þe thy way.

ECCE MITTO ANGELUM MEUM ANTE FA-
 CIEM TUAM QUI PREPARABIT VIAM TUAM
 ANTE TE.

Of John Baptist he menyd þore,
 For in erthe he was ordand ay,
 To warne þe folke þat wilsom wore
 Of Cristis comyng, and þus gon say:

125

EGO QUIDEM BAPTIZO IN AQUA VOS AUTEM
 BAPTIZABIMINI SPIRITU SANCTO.

- [44a] Eftir me sall come nowe
 130 A man of myghtis mast,
 And sall baptis zowe
 In the high haly gast.
 þus of cristis commyng may we see
 How sainte Luke spekis in his gospels:
 135 Fro god in heuen es sente, says he,
 An aungell is named Gabriell
 To Nazareth in Galale,
 Where þan a mayden mylde gon dwell,
 þat with Joseph suld wedded be,
 140 Her name is Mary, þus gan he telle.
 To god his grace þan grayd
 To man in þis manere,
 And how þe Aungell saide,
 Takes hede, all þat will here.

Tunc cantat angelus.

- 145 *Ang[elus]*: Hayle, Marie! full of grace and blysse,
 Oure lord god is with þe,
 And has chosen þe for his;
 Of all women blist mot þou be.
Maria: What maner of halsyng is þis,
 150 þus preuely comes to me?
 For in myn herte a thought it is,
 þe tokenyng þat I here see,

Tunc cantat angelus, Ne timeas Maria.

- Ang[elus]*: Ne drede þe noght, þou mylde marie,
 For no-thing þat may be-falle,
 155 For þou has fun soueranly
 At god a grace ouer othir all.

130 myghtis] so Hall, myghtist MS, S 131 sall] sall he K
after 144 stage direction] here and elsewhere in a 16th cent. hand
 145 Angelus] *here & hereafter such abbreviations are expanded without further note.* 146 is] he is K 147 has] he has K
 149 is] say, is H 150 comes] that comes K

In chastite of thy bodye
 Consayue and bere a childe þou sall;
 This bodword brynge I þe, forthy
 His name Jesu sall þou calle.

160

Mekill of myght þan sall he bee,
 He sall be God and called God sonne.
 Daudid sege, his fadir free,
 Sall God hym giffe to sytte vpon;
 Als kyng for euer regne sall hee,
 In Jacob house ay for to wonne.
 Of his kyngdome and dignite
 [Sall] noo man erth[e]ly know ne con.

[44b]

165

Maria: þou goddis aungell, meke and mylde,
 Howe sulde it be, I the praye,
 That I sulde consayve a childe
 Of any man by nyght or daye?
 I knawe no man þat shulde haue fyled
 My maydenhode, the sothe to saye;
 Withouten will of werkis wilde,
 In chastite I haue ben ay.

170

175

Ang[elus]: The Halygast in þe sall lighte,
 Hegh vertue sall to þe holde,
 The holy birthe of the so bright,
 God sonne he sall be calde.
 Loo! Elizabeth, þi cosyne, ne myght
 In elde consayue a childe for alde;
 Þis is þe sexte moneth full ryght,
 To her þat baran has ben talde.

180

162 sonne]	soñ MS	168 inserted by a late hand in the
margin	sall] shall S MS	erthely] erthly MS S
170 I]		
syr, I K	180 sonne]	sonne, forsothe K
181 Loo]		
omit K	ne] omit K	182 for alde] ful balde K

185 *Maria*: Thou aungell, blissid messanger,
 Of goddis will I holde me payde,
 I love my lorde with herte dere.
 Þe grace þat he has for me layde—
 Goddis handmayden, lo! me here
 190 To his wille all redy grayd—
 Be done to me of all manere,
 [45a] Thurgh thy worde als þou hast saide.

[Scene 2]

Now God, þat all oure hope is in,
 Thur[gh] the myght of þe haly gaste,
 195 Saue þe, dame, fro sak of synne,
 And wisse þe fro all werkis wast!
 Elyzabeth, myn awne cosyne,
 Me thoght I coveyte alway mast
 To speke with þe of all my kynne,
 200 Therfore I comme þus in þis hast.

Eliz[abeth]: Welcome, mylde Marie!

Myne aughen cosyne so dere,
 Joiful woman am I,
 þat I nowe see þe here.
 205 Blissid be þou anely
 Of all women in feere,
 And þe frute of thy body
 Be blissid ferre and nere!

þis is ioiful tydyng
 210 þat I may nowe here see

187 dere] full dere H 188 þe grace] for þe grace H
 193–196 S assigns to Ang., and divides the scenes at l. 197. No such
 assignment appears in MS, and there is no division into scenes. 194
 Thurgh] Thur MS 195 of] and K

þe modyr of my lord kyng

Thus-gate come to me.

Sone als þe voyce of þine haylsing

Moght myn neres entre and be,

þe childe in my wombe so yenge

215

Makes grete myrthe vnto þe

Maria: Nowe lorde, blist be þou ay!

For the grace þou has me lente;

Lorde I lofe þe god verray,

þe sande þou hast me sente.

220

I þanke þe nyght and day,

And prayes with good entente

þou make me to thy paye,

To þe my wille is wentte.

[45 b]

Eliz[abeth]: Blissid be þou grathely grayed

225

To god thurgh chastite,—

þou trowed and helde þe payed

At his wille for to bee.

All þat to þe is saide

Fro my lorde so free,

230

Swilke grace is for þe layde,

Sall be fulfilled in þe.

Maria: [T]o his grace I will me ta,

With chastite to dele,

þat made me þus to ga

235

Omange his maidens fele.

My saule sall louying ma

Vn-to þat lorde so lele,

And my gast make ioie alswa

In god þat es my hele.

tunc cantat Magnificat. 240

212 come] is come K 213 Sone] omit K 216 vnto
þe] so S, MS reads: alway to þe 219 Lorde] omit K 220 þe]
For þe H 230 lorde] lorde god K 233 To] o MS,
[T]o S 236 fele] feelee MS, fele S after 240 tunc cantat]

Written in a late hand

[46a] XIII. THE PEWTERERES AND FOUNDOURS.

[Joseph's Return.]

[Scene 1]

Jos[eph]: Of grete mornyng may I me mene,
And walk full werily be þis way,
For nowe þan wende I best hase bene
Att ease and reste by reasonne ay.

5 For I am of grete elde,
Wayke and al vnwelde,

Als ilke man se it maye,
I may nowder buske ne belde.
But owther in frith or felde,

10 For shame what sall I saie
That þus-gates nowe on myne alde dase
Has wedded a yonge wenche to my wiff,
And may noȝt wele tryne over two strase?
Nowe, lorde, how langes all I lede þis liff!

15 My banes er heuy als lede,
And may noȝt stande in stede,
Als kende it is full ryfe.

Now, lorde, þou me wisse and rede,
Or sone me dryue to dede!

20 þou may best stynte þis striffe.

For bittirly þan may I banne
'The way I in þe temple wente,
Itt was to me a bad barganne,
For reuthe I may it ay repente.

25 For þare-in was ordande
Vn-wedded men sulde stande,
Al sembled at asent,

S gives scene as "Joseph wandering in wilderness; his house
at one side." 1 me] omit H 3 hase] have K
4 reasonne] reasoun K 9 But] omit K 14 langes all]
lange sall Hall 18 lorde] omit K me] we MS

And ilke ane a drye wande
 On heght helde in his hand,
 And I ne wist what it ment. 30
 In-mange al othir ane bare I;
 Itt florissshed faire, and floures on sprede,
 And they saide to me for-thy
 þat with a wyffe I sulde be wedde.
 þe bargayne I made þare, 35
 þat rewes me nowe full sare,
 So am I straytely sted.
 Now castes itt me in care, [46b]
 For wele I myght euere mare
 Anlepy life haue led. 40
 Hir werkis me wyrkis my wonges to wete,
 I am begiled; how, wate I nozt.
 My zonge wiffe is with childe full grete,
 þat makes me nowe sorowe vnsought.
 þat reproffe nere has slayne me! 45
 For-thy giff any man frayne me
 How þis þing may be wrought,
 To gabbe yf I wolde payne me,
 þe lawe standis harde [agayne] me,
 To dede I mon be broght. 50
 And lathe me thinkeþ, on þe todir syde,
 My wiff with any man to defame,
 And whethir of there twa þat I bide
 I mon nozt scape withouten schame.
 þe childe certis is noght myne— 55
 þat reproffe dose me pyne,
 And gars me fle fra hame.
 My liff gif I shuld tyne,
 Sho is a clene virgine
 For me, withouten blame. 60

But wele I wate thurgh prophicie,
 A maiden clene suld bere a childe,
 But it is nought sho, sekirly,
 For-thy I wate I am begiled.

- 65 And why ne walde som yonge man [ta] hir?
 For certis I thynke ouer-ga hir
 Into som wodes wilde;
 Thus thynke I to stele fra hir.
 God childe ther wilde bestes sla hir,
 70 She is so meke and mylde.
 Of my wendying wil I none warne,
 Neuere þe lees it is myne entente
 To aske hir who gate hir þat barne,
 gitt wolde I witte fayne or I wente.

[Scene 2]

- 75 All hayle! God be here-in!
i Puella: Welcome, by Goddis dere myght!
 [47a] *Jos[eph]*: Whare is þat zonge virgine,
 Marie, my berde so bright?
i Puella: Certis, Joseph, ze sall vndirstande
 80 þat sho is not fulle farre you fra—
 Sho sittis at hir boke full faste prayand
 For zou and us and for all þa
 þat oght has nede.
 But for to tell hir will I ga
 85 Of youre comyng, withouten drede.
 [To *Mary*]: Haue done! and rise up, dame,
 And to me take gud hede!
 Joseph, he is comen hame.
Maria: Welcome, als God me spede!
 90 Dredles to me he is full dere,
 Joseph, my spouse, welcome er yhe!

Jos[eph]: Gramercy, Mary, saie what chere,
Telle me þe soth, how es't with þe?

Wha has ben there?

Thy wombe is waxen grete, thynke me,
þou arte with barne, alas! for care!

95

A! maidens, wa worthe zou!

þat lete hir lere swilke lare.

ii Puella: Joseph, ge sall noght trowe

In hir no febill fare.

100

Jos[eph]: Trowe it noght arme! lefe wenche, do way!

Hir sidis shewes she is with childe.

Whose is't, Marie?

Mar[ia]: Sir, Goddis and youre.

Jos[eph]: Nay! nay!

Now wate I wele I am begiled,

And resonne why!

105

With me flesshely was þou neuere fylid,

And I forsake [the] here for-thy.

Say, maidens, how es þis?

Tels me þe soþe, rede I;

And but ge do, i-wisse,

110

þe bargayne sall ge aby.

ii Puella: If ge threte als faste as yhe can,

þare is noght to saie þere till,

For trulye her come neuer noman,

To waite her body with non ill

115

Of this swete wight.

[47 b]

For we haue dwelt ay with her still,

And was neuere fro hir day nor nyght.

Hir kepars haue we bene,

and sho ay in oure sight.

120

103 Marie] omit H K Nay, nay] at beginning of 104 in MS
and S, H & K suggest this arrangement, for rime, but omit one nay
107 the] it MS S; Zupitza suggests this emendation 115 her]
the K 116] inserted by 16th cent. hand

Come here no man bytwene
to touche þat berde so bright.

i *Puella*: Na, here come noman in þere wanes,
And þat euere wnesse will we,
125 Saue an Aungell ilke a daye anes,
With bodily foode hir fedde has he,
Othir come nane.

Wharfore we ne wate how it shulde be,
But thurgh þe haly gaste allone.

130 For truly we trowe þis,
[h]is grace with hir is gone,
For sho wrought neuere no mys,
we wnesse euere ilkane.

Jos[eph]: þanne se I wele youre menyng is,
135 þe Aungell has made hir with childe;
Nay, som man in aungellis liknesse
With somkyn gawde has hir begiled,
And þat trow I.

For-thy nedes noght swilke wordis wilde
140 At carpe to me dissayuandly.
We! why gab ye me swa,
and feynes swilk fantassy?
Allas, me is full wa!

for dule why ne myght I dy?
145 To me þis is a carfull cas,
Rekkeles I raffe, reste is my rede,
I dare loke no man in þe face,
Derfely for dole why ne were I dede?
Me lathis my liff!

150 In temple and in othir stede
Ilke man till hethyng will me dryff,

124 euere wnesse will] will euere wnesse H 131 his]
is MS S 132 For] that K 135 made hir] hir made H
146 reste] reffe Hall

Was neuer wight sa wa,
 for ruthe I all to-ryff!
 Allas! why wrought þou swa,
 Marie, my weddid wiffe?

155

Mar[ia]: To my wittenne grete God I call,
 þat [I] in mynde wrought neuere no mysse.

Jos[eph]: Whose is þe childe þou art with-all?

Mar[ia]: Youres, sir, and þe kyngis of blisse.

Jos[eph]: Ye? and hoo þan?

[48a]

Na, selcouthe tythandis than is þis,
 Excuse þam wele there women can.

But, Marie, all þat sese þe
 may witte þi werkis ere wan;

Thy wombe all way it wreyes þe,
 þat þou has mette with man.

165

Whose is it? als faire mot ye be-fall.

Mar[ia]: Sir, it is youres and Goddis will.

Jos[eph]: Nay, I ne haue noght a-do with-all,

Neme it na more to me! be still!

170

þou wate als wele as I,
 þat we two same fleshly

Wrought neuer swilk werkis with ill.

Loke þou dide no folye

Be-fore me preuely

175

Thy faire maydenhede to spill.

But who is þe fader? telle me his name!

Mar[ia]: None but youre self.

Jos[eph]: Late be, for shame!

I did it neuere, þou dotist dame, by bukes and belles! 180

Full sakles shulde I bere þis blame aftir þou telles.

157 I] omit MS S, suggested by K 157] H re-writes the
 line as follows: that never in mynde have wrought no mysse
 160 hoo] H suggests how, apparently taking hoo to mean who, but
 hoo can mean how as well as who 176 faire] omit H

For I wroght neuere in worde nor dede
 Thyng þat shulde marre thy maydenhede,
 To touche me till.

185 For of slyk note war litill nede,
 Yhitt for myn awne I wolde it fede,
 Might all be still.

þarefore þe fadir tell me, Marie.

Mar[ia]: But God and yhow I knowe right none.

190 *Jos[eph]*: A! slike sawes mase me full sarye,
 With grete mornyng to make my mone.

Therefore be noȝt so balde

þat no slike tales be talde,

But halde þe stille als stane.

195 þou art yonge and I am alde,
 Slike werkis yf I do walde,

[48b] þase games fra me are gane.

Therefore, telle me in priuite

whos is þe childe þou is with nowe?

200 Sertis, þer sall non witte but we,
 I drede þe lawe als wele as þou.

Mar[ia]: Nowe grete God of his myght,

þat all may dresse and dight,

Mekely to þe I bowe!

205 Rewe on þis wery wight,

þat in his herte might light

þe soth to ken and trowe.

Jos[eph]: Who had thy maydenhede, marie, has þou
 oght mynde?

Mar[ia]: For suth, I am a mayden clene.

210 *Jos[eph]*: Nay, þou spekis now agayne kynde,
 Slike þing myght neuere naman of mene.

A maiden to be with childe!

þase wer[d]is fra þe ar wilde—

Sho is not borne, I wene.

Mar[ia]: Joseph, yhe ar begiled,
 With synne was I neuer filid,
 Goddis sande is on me sene. 215

Jos[eph]: Goddis sande! yha Marie! God helpe!
 But certis þat childe was neuere oures two.
 But woman kynde gif þat list yhelpe,
 Yhitt walde þei naman wiste þer wo. 220

Mar[ia]: Sertis, it is Goddis sande,
 þat sall I neuer ga fra.

Jos[eph]: Yha! Marie, drawe thyn hande,
 For forther gitt will I frande,
 I trowe not it be swa. 225

þe soth fra me gif þat þou layne,
 þe childe bering may þou nozt hyde;
 But sitte stille here tille I come agayne,
 Me bus an erand here beside. 230

Mar[ia]: Now, grete God, [he] you wisse,
 And mende you of your mysse
 Of me, what so betyde.
 Als he is kyng of blysse,
 Sende yhou som seand of þis, [49a]
 In truth þat ye might bide.

[Scene 3]

Jos[eph]: Nowe, lord God, þat all þing may
 At thine owne will bothe do and dresse,
 Wisse me now som redy way
 To walk here in þis wildirnesse. 240
 Bot or I passe þis hill,
 Do with me what God will,

220 yhelpe] whelpe H 222 & 223] written as one line
 in MS 231 he] be MS S, taking wisse as an adj. = wise, not
 as vb. = guide; but cf. line 239 235 seand] sande H K þis]
 his K

Owther more or lesse,
 Here bus me bide full stille
 245 Till I haue slepid my fille,
 Myn hert so heuy it is.

[He sleeps, then enter Gabriel.]

Ang[elus]: Waken, Joseph, and take bettir kepe
 To Marie, þat is þi felawe fest.

Jos[eph]: A! I am full werie, lefe late me slepe,
 250 Forwandered and walked in þis forest.

Ang[elus]: Rise vppe and slepe na mare!
 þou makist her herte full sare,
 þat loues þe alther best.

Jos[eph]: We! now es þis a farly fare,
 255 For to be cached bathe here and þare,
 And nowhere may haue rest.

Say, what arte þou? telle me this thyng!

Ang[elus]: I Gabriell, Goddis aungell full euen,
 þat has tane Marie to my kepyng,
 260 And sente es þe to say with steuen,
 In lele wedlak þou lede þe;
 Leffe hir nogt, I forbid þe,
 Na syn of hir þou neuen.

But till hir fast þou spede þe,
 265 And of hir noght þou drede þe—
 It is Goddis sande of heuen.

The childe þat sall be borne of her
 Itt is consayued of þe haly gast.

[49b] All joie and blisse þan sall be aftir,
 270 And to al mankynde nowe althir-mast.
 Jesus his name þou calle,
 For slike happe sall hym fall

249 A, & lefe] omit K
 & bathe] omit K
 omit H

254 We] omit K
 269 þan] omit K

255 For
 270 nowe]

Als þou sall se in haste.

His pepull saff he sall

Of euyllis and angris all,

275

þat þei ar nowe enbraste.

Jos[eph]: And is this soth, aungell, þou saise?

Ang[elus]: Yha! and þis to taken right,

Wende forthe to Marie thy wiffe alwayse;

Brynge her to Bedlem þis ilke nyght;

280

Ther sall a childe borne be,—

Goddiss sone of heuen is hee,

And man ay mast of myght.

Jos[eph]: Nowe lorde god! full wele is me

þat euyr þat I þis sight suld see,

285

I was neuer [half] so light.

For for I walde hir þus refused,

And sakles blame þat ay was clere,

Me bus pray hir halde me excused,

Als som men dose with full god chere.

290

[Scene 4]

Saie, Marie wiffe, how fares þou?

Mar[ia]: þe bettir, sir, for yhou.

Why stande yhe þare? come nere.

Jos[eph]: My bakke fayne wolde I bowe,

And aske fo[r]giffnesse nowe,

295

Wiste I þou wolde me here.

Mar[ia]: Forgiffnesse, sir! late be, for shame!

Slike wordis suld all gud women lakke.

Jos[eph]: Yha, Marie, I am to blame

For wordis lang are I to the spak.

[50 a]

278 and] and nim K 285 2nd þat] omit K & Hall
 286 half] ar MS S 287 hir] haue hir H 295 forgiffnesse]
 fogiffnesse MS 299 Marie] Marie wyff K

But gadir same now all our gere,
Slike poure wede as we were,

And pricke þam in a pak.

Till Bedlem bus me it bere,

305

For litill thyng will women dere.

Helpe vp nowe on my bak!

301 same] *omit* K

305 thyng] *omit* K

XIV. THE TILLE THEKERS. [The Nativity.] [51 a]

[Scene 1]

(50 b)
blank

Jos[eph] : All weldand God in Trinite,
 I praye þe, lord, for thy grete myght,
 Vnto thy symple seruand see,
 Here in þis place wher we are pight,
 oure self allone; 5
 Lord, graunte vs gode herberow þis nyght
 within þis wone.
 For we haue sought both vppe and doune,
 Thurgh diuerse stretis in þis cite;
 So mekill pepull is comen to towne, 10
 þat we can nowhare herbered be,
 þer is slike prees;
 For suthe I can no socoure see,
 but belde vs with þere bestes.
 And yf we here all nyght abide, 15
 We shall be stormed in þis steede;
 þe walles are doune on ilke a side,
 þe ruffe is rayned aboven oure hede,
 als haue I roo,—
 Say, Marie doughtir, what is thy rede? 20
 How sall we doo?
 For in grete nede nowe are we stedde,
 As þou thy selffe the soth may see,
 For here is nowthir cloth ne bedde,

12] ther slike a prees es K 14 vs and þere] omit H K
 18 rayned] rayned Hall, referring to *E. Dialect Soc. Dict.* 1.10 and
 1.51, on *vb.* *reave* = to blow off, to unroof

25 And we are weyke and all werie,
and fayne wolde rest.
Now, gracious god, for thy mercie,
wisse vs þe best!

Mar[ia]: God will vs wisse, full wele witt ge,
 30 þer-fore, Joseph, be of gud chere,
 For in þis place borne will he be
 þat sall vs saue fro sorowes sere,
 bothe even and morne.
 Sir, witte ge wele þe tyme is nere,
 35 hee will be borne.

Jos[eph]: þan behoves vs bide here stille,
Here in þis same place all þis nyght.

Mar[ia]: za, sir, forsuth it is Goddis will.

Jos[eph]: Pan wolde I fayne we had sum light,
what so befall.

[51b] It waxes right myrke vnto my sight,
and colde withall.

I will go gete vs light for-thy,
And fewell fande with me to brynge.

45 *Mar[ia]*: All weldand God yow gouerne and gy,
As he is sufferayne of all thyng,
for his grete myght!

And lende me grace to his louyng
pat I me dight!

50 Nowe in my sawle grete ioie haue I,
I am all cladde in comforte clere,
Now will be borne of my body
Both God and man to-gedir in feere.
Bliste mott he be!

55 Jesu! my son þat is so dere!
now borne is he!

Hayle my lord God! hayle prince of pees!

Hayle my fadir! and hayle my sone!
Hayle souereyne sege all synnes to sesse!
Halye God and man in erth to wonne!

60

Hayle thurgh whos myht
All þis worlde was first be-gonne,
merknes and light!

Sone, as I am sympill sugett of thyne,
Vowchesaffe, swete sone, I pray þe,
That I myght þe take in þe armys of myne,
And in þis poure wede to arraie þe.

65

Graunte me þi blisse,
 As I am thy modir chosen to be
 in sothfastnesse.

70

[Scene 2]

Jos[eph]: A! lorde, what the wedir is colde!

pe fellest freese þat euere I felyd.
I pray God helpe þam þat is alde,
And namely þam þat is vnwelde,
so may I saie.

75

Now, gud God, þou be my belde,
as þou best may.

A! lord God! what light is þis
þat comes shynyng þus sodenly?
I can not saie, als haue I blisse.

80

When I come home vn-to Marie
þan sall I spirre.

64 sympill] *omit* K
68 þi] þe K

65 I] I do K

66 þe } þer S

[Scene 3]

A! here[d] be god, for nowe come I.

Mar[ia]: ze ar welcum, sirre.

⁸⁵ *Jos[eph]*: Say, Marie doghtir, what chere with þe?

[52a] *Mar[ia]*: Right goode, Joseph, as has been ay.

Jos[eph]: O Marie! what swete thyng is þat on thy kne?

Mar[ia]: It is my sone, þe soth to saye,
þat is so gud.

⁹⁰ *Jos[eph]*: Wele is me I bade þis day
to se þis foode!

Me merueles mekill of þis light,
þat þus-gates shynes in þis place,
For suth it is a selcouth sight!

⁹⁵ *Mar[ia]*: þis hase he ordand of his grace,
my sone so zing,

A starne to be shynyng a space
at his bering.

For Balam tolde ful longe beforen
¹⁰⁰ How þat a sterne shulde rise full hye,
And of a maiden shulde be borne
A sonne þat sall oure saffying be
fro caris kene.

For suth it is my sone so free

¹⁰⁵ be whame Balam gon mene.

Jos[eph]: Nowe welcome floure fairest of hewe!

I shall þe menske with mayne amd myght.

Hayle my maker! hayle Crist Jesu!

Hayle riall kyng, roote of all right!

¹¹⁰ Hayle saueour!

Hayle my lorde, lemer of light!

Hayle blessid floure!

83 hered] suggested by K; MS & S read her 87 O Marie]
omit H 105] whame he gon meene H, certainly better, but
hardly justifiable 111 lorde] lorde god K lemer] lener K

Mar[ia]: Nowe, lord, þat all þis worlde schall wyne,
To þe my sone is þat I saye,
Here is no bedde to laye the inne,
þerfore my dere sone, I þe praye,
115
 sen it is so,
Here in þis cribbe I myght þe lay
 betweene þer bestis two.

And I sall happe þe, myn owne dere childe,
With such clothes as we haue here.

Jos[eph]: O Marie! beholde þes beestis mylde, [52b]
 They make louyng in ther manere
 as þei wer men;

For-sothe it semes wele be ther chere
þare lord þei ken.

Mar[ia]: Ther lorde þai kenne, þat wate I wele,—
They worshippe hym with myght and mayne.
The wedir is colde, as ye may fele,
To halde hym warme þei are full fayne
 with þare warme breth,
And oondis on hym; is noght to layne
 to warme hym with?

O! nowe slepis my sone, blist mot he be!
And lyes full warme þer bestis by-twene.

Jos[eph]: O! nowe is fulfilled, for-suth I see,
pat Abacuc in mynde gon mene
and preched by prophicie,—
He saide oure sauoure shall be sene
betwene bestis lye;

And nowe I see þe same in sight.

Marfia: za, sir, for-suth þe same is he.

Jos[eph]: Honnoure and worshippe both day and nyght,
Ay-lastand lorde, be done to þe,

119 per | omit K

136 O | omit K

122 O | *omit* K

138 and preched | omit K

134 O | *omit* K

145 all way as is worthy.

And, lord, to thy seruice I oblissh me
with all myn herte holy.

Mar[ia]: þou mercyfull maker, most myghty,

My God, my lorde, my sone so free,

150 Thy hande-mayden for soth am I,

[53a] And to thi seruice I oblissh me,
with all myn herte entere.

Thy blissing, beseke I thee,

þou graunte vs all in feere.

hic caret pastoribus sequitur postea.

145 all way] omit K	146 lord] omit K	147 all
myn] omit K	152 all myn] omit K	153 blissing] dere
blissing K	154 þou] omit K all] omit K	stage direction]
in a late hand in MS		

XV. THE CHAUNDLERS. [The Shepherds' Play.] [54 a]

[Scene 1]

(53 b)
(blank)

i past[or]: Bredir, in haste takis hede and here
 What I wille speke and specifie;
 Sen we walke þus, withouten were,
 What mengis my moode now [meve yt] will I.
 Oure forme-fadres, faythfull in fere,
 Bothe Osye and Isaye,
 Preued that a prins withouten pere
 Should descende doune in a lady,
 And to make mankynde clerly,
 To leche þam þat are lorne;
 And in Bedlem hereby
 Sall þat same barne be borne.

5

10

ii past[or]: Or he be borne in burgh hereby,
 Balaham, brothir, me haue herde say,
 A sterne shulde schyne and signifie,
 With lightfull lemes like any day.
 And als the texte it tellis clerly
 By witty lerned men of oure day,
 With his blissed bloode he shulde vs by.
 He shulde take here all of a may,
 I herde my syre saye;
 When he of hir was borne,
 She shulde be als clene maye
 As euer she was by-forne.

15

20

4 meve yt]	mevyd MS S	7 a] I MS	9 And]
omit H	make] take H, marke K	12 be] by MS	14 me]
we H	21 I] As I K		

- 25 *iii Past[or]*: A! mercifull maker, mekill is thy myght,
 That þus will to þi seruantes see;
 Might we ones loke vppon þat light,
 Gladder bretheren myght no men be.
 I haue herde say, by þat same light,
 30 The childe of Israell shulde be made free,
 The force of the feende to felle in sighte;
 And all his pouer excluded shulde be.
 [54b] Wherefore, brether, I rede that wee
 Flitte faste ouere thees felles,
 35 To frayste to fynde oure fee,
 And talke of sumwhat ellis.

[*Apparent angeli in cælo.*]

- i Pas[tor]*: We! huddle!
ii Pas[tor]: We! howe!
i Pas[tor]: Herkyn to me!
ii Pas[tor]: We, man! þou maddes all out of myght.
i Pas[tor]: We! colle!
iii Pas[tor]: What care is comen to þe?
 40 *i Pas[tor]*: Steppe furth and stande by me right,
 And tell me þan
 Yf þou sawe euere swilke a sight!
iii Pas[tor]: I? nay, certis, nor neuere no man.
ii Pas[tor]: Say, felowes, what! fynde yhe any feest?
 45 Me falles for to haue parte, parde!
i Pas[tor]: Whe! huddle! be-halde into the heste!
 A selcouthe sight þan sall þou see
 vppon þe skye!
ii Pas[tor]: We! telle me men, emang vs thre,

28 Gladder bretheren] Gladder, bretheren, H 29 light]
 wight K 30 made] omit K after 36 stage-direction]
 omitted in MS, "Vision of angels in the Sky" S 41-42] written
 as one line in MS and given to *ii Pastor*. But ll. 40-42 belong to
 one speech, and as l. 44 belongs to *ii Pastor*, this arrangement seems
 to be the one intended S

Whatt garres yow stare þus sturdely? 50

iii Pas[tor]: Als lange as we haue herde-men bene,
And kepis þis catell in þis cloghe,
So selcouth a sight was neuere non sene.

i Pas[tor]: We! no, colle! nowe comes it newe i-nowe,
þat mon we [mete]. 55

Itt menes some meruayle vs emang, [55 a]
Full hardely I you behete.

[i]i Pas[tor]: What it shulde mene þat wate not zee,
For all þat ze can gape and gone.

[cantat angelus.]

I can singe itt alls wele as hee, 60
And on a-saie itt sall be sone
proued or we passe,
Yf ze will helpe; halde on! late see!
for þus it was.

Et tunc cantant.

ii Pas[tor]: Ha! ha! þis was a mery note, 65
Be the dede þat I sall dye!
I haue so crakid in my throte,
þat my lippis are nere drye.

iii Pas[tor]: I trowe you royse,
For what it was fayne witte walde I, 70
That tille vs made þis noble noyse.

i Pas[tor]: An aungell brought vs tythandes newe,
A babe in Bedlem shulde be borne,
Of whom þan spake oure [prophitis] trewe,
And bad us mete him þare þis morne, 75

55 mete] fynde MS, S suggests mete or wete 56 vs
emang] withoute wough K 58 *ii Pastor*] *i Pastor* MS S,
but more appropriate to *ii Pastor* and following a speech of *i Pastor*
after 59] omit MS, Angel sings S 63 halde on, late see] late
see! halde on! H after *Et tunc cantant*] in margin in late
hand: Caret nova loquela de pastore 70 For] But K 74
prophitis] so H, MS & S read prophicie

þat mylde of mode.

I walde giffe hym bothe hatte and horne,
And I myght fynde þat frely foode.

iii Pas[tor]: Hym for to finde has we no drede,

80 I sall you telle a-chesonne why,
gone sterne to þat lorde sall vs lede.

ii Pas[tor]: ȝa! þou sais soth, go we for-thy
hym to honnour,

And make myrthe and melody

85 with sange to seke oure savyour.

Et tunc cantant.

[Scene 2]

[55b] *i Pas[tor]*: Breder, bees all blythe and glad,
Here is the burght þer we shulde be.

ii Pas[tor]: In þat same steede now are we stadde,
Tharefore I will go seke and see.

90 Slike happe of heele neuere herde-men hadde.
Loo! here is the house, and here is hee!

iii Pas[tor]: ȝa! for sothe, þis is the same,
Loo! whare þat lorde is layde,
Be-twyxe two bestis tame,

95 Right als þe aungell saide.

i Pas[tor]: The Aungell saide þat he shulde saue
This worlde and all þat wones þer-in,
Therefore yf I shulde oght aftir crave,
To wirshippe hym I will be-gynne.

100 Sen I am but a symple knave,
þof-all I come of curtayse kynne,
Loo! here sylke harnays as I haue,
A baren broche by a belle of tynne

after 99] Hic caret nova loquela. MS, in 16th cent. hand. They
adore the child. S 103] A barn-broche bying a belle of
tynne K, a brasen belte and a belle of tynne H, a barred belte
with a broche of tynne. Hall

At youre bosom to be,

And whenne ge shall welde all,

105

Gud sonne, for-gete nozt me,

Yf any fordele falle.

ii Pas[tor] : þou sonne þat shall saue boþe see and sande,

Se to me sen I haue þe soght,

I am ovir poure to make presande

110

Als myn harte wolde, and I had oght.

Two cobill notis vppon a bande,

Loo! litill babe, what I haue broght;

And when ge sall be lorde in lande,

Dose goode agayne, for-gete me noht.

115

For I haue herde declared

[56 a]

Of connyng clerkis and clene,

That bountith [askis] rewarde;

Nowe watte ge what I mene.

iii Pas[tor] : Nowe loke on me, my lorde dere,

120

þof-all I putte me noht in pres;

Ye are a prince with-uten pere,

I haue no presentte þat you may plees;

But lo! an horne spone þat haue I here,

And it will herber fourty pese;

125

þis will I giffe you with gud chere,

Slike novelte may noht disease.

Fare [wele] þou swete swayne,

God graunte vs levyng lange,

And go we hame agayne,

130

And make mirth as we gange.

NOTE ON TEXT OF TOWNELEY PLAYS.

Suggested emendations by Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* 21. 162 ff., are denoted in the variants by K, England's emendations in his edition by E.

TOWNELEY PLAYS.

[Play 10.] INCIPIT ANNUNCIACIO.

Deus: Sythen I haue mayde all thyng of noght,
And Adam with my handis hath wrought
Lyke to myn ymage, att my devyse,
And gyffen hym Ioy in paradyse,
To won therin, as that I wend, 5
To that he dyd that I defend;
Then I hym put out of that place, [28b]
Bot yit, I myn, I hight hym grace;
Oyll of mercy I can hym heyt,
And tyme also his bayll to beytt; 10
ffor he has boght his syn full sore
Thise fyfe thowsand yeris and more,
ffyrst in erthe and sythen in hell;
Bot long therin shall he not dwell,—
Out of payn he shall be boght, 15
I wyll not tyne that I haue wrought.
I wyll make redempcyon,
As I hyght, for my person,
All wyth reson and with right,
Both through mercy and through myght. 20
he shall not, therfor, ay be spylt,
ffor he was wrangwysly begylt;
he shall out of preson pas,
ffor that he begyled was
Thurgh the edder and his wyfe. 25
Thay gart hym towch the tree of lyfe,
And ete the frute that I forbed,
And he was dampned for that dede.

Ryghtwysnes wyll we make :
 30 I wyll that my son manhede take ;
 ffor reson wyll that ther be thre,
 A man, a madyn, and a tre :
 Man for man, tre for tre,
 Madyn for madyn, thus shal it be.
 35 My son shall in a madyn light,
 Agans the feynd of hell to fight,
 wythouten wem, os son thugh glas,
 And she madyn as she was.
 Both god and man shall he be,
 40 And she moder and madyn fre.
 To Abraham I am in dett
 To safe hym and his gett,
 And I wyll that all prophecy
 Be fulfyllyd here by me ;
 45 ffor I am lord and lech of heyle.
 My prophetys shall be funden leyle ;
 As moyses sayd, and Isay,
 Kyng dauid, and Ieromy,
 Abacuk, and daniell,
 50 Sybyll sage, that sayde ay well,
 And myne othere prophetis all,
 As thay haue said, it shall befall.
 Ryse vp, gabriell, and weynd
 vnto a madyn that is heynd,
 55 To nazareth in galilee,
 Ther she dwellys in that cytee,
 To that vyrgyn, and to that spouse
 To a man of dauid house ;
 Ioseph also he is namyd by,
 60 And the madyn name mary.
 Angell must to mary go,
 ffor the feynd was eue fo,

he was foule and layth to syght,
 And thou art angell fayr and bright,—
 And hayls that madyn, my lemman, 65
 As heyndly as thou can.
 Of my behalf thou shall hyr grete,
 I haue hyr chosen, that madyn swete;
 She shall conceyf my derlyng
 Through thy word and hyr heryng. 70
 In hyr body will I lyght,
 That is to me clenly dyght;
 She shall of hyr body bere
 God and man wythouten dere;
 She shall be blyssyd wythouten ende. [29a]
 Grayth the, gabriell, and weynd.

[Scene 2]

Gabriell: hayll, mary, gracyouse!
 hayll, madyn and godis spouse!
 Vnto the I lowte;
 Of all vyrgyns thou art qwene 80
 That euer was or shall be seyn,
 wythouten dowte.
 hayll, mary, and well thou be!
 My lord of heuen is wyth the
 wythouten end; 85
 hayll, woman most of mede!
 Goodly lady, haue thou no drede,
 That I commend,
 ffor thou has fonden all thyn oone
 The grace of god, that was out gone 90
 ffor adam plyght.
 This is the grace that the betydys,

Gabriell: lady, this is the preuate:

125

The holy gost shall light in the,

And his vertue,

he shall vmshade and fulfyll

[29b]

That thi madynhede shall neuer spyll,

Bot ay be new.

130

The child that thou shall bere, madame,
Shall godys son be callid by name;

And se, mary,

Elesabeth, thy cosyn, that is cald geld,

She has conceyffed a son in elde

135

Of zacary;

And this is, who wyll late,

The sext moneth of hyr conceytate

That geld is cald.

No word, lady, that I the bryng,

140

Is vnmyghtfull to heuen kyng,

Bot all shall hald.

Maria: I lofe my lord all weldand,

I am his madyn at his hand,

And in his wold.

145

I trow bodword that thou me bryng

Be done to me in all thyng,

As thou has told.

Gabriell: Mary, madyn heynd,

me behovys to weynd,

my leyf at the I take.

150

Maria: ffar to my freynd,

who the can send

ffor mankynde sake.

[Scene 3]

- 155 *Ioseph*: All-myghty god, what may this be?
 Of mary my wyfe meruels me,
 Alas, what has she wrought?
 A, hyr body is grete, and she with childe!
 ffor me was she neuer fylyd,
 160 Therfore myin it is nocht.
 I irke full sore with my lyfe,
 That euer I wed so yong a wyfe,
 That bargan I may ban;
 To me it was a carefull dede,
 165 I myght well wyt that yowthede
 wolde haue lyking of man.
 I am old, sothly to say,
 passed I am all preuay play,
 The gams fro me ar gane.
 170 It is ill cowpled of youth and elde,
 I wote well, for I am vnwelde,
 som othere has she tane.
 she is with chyld, I wote neuer how,
 Now who wold any woman trow?
 175 Certys no man that can any goode.
 I wote not in the warld what I shuld do,
 But now then wyll I weynd hyr to,
 And wytt who owe that foode.

[Scene 4]

- hayll, mary, and well be ye!
 180 why, bot woman, what chere with the?
Maria: The better, sir, for you.
Ioseph: So wold I, woman, that ye wore,
 Bot certys, mary, I rew full sore
 It standys so with the now.

Bot of a thyng frayn the I shall, [30 a]
 who owe this child thou gose withall?

Maria: Syr, ye and god of heuen.

Ioseph: Myne, mary? do way thi dyn!

That I shuld oght haue parte therin

Thou nedys it not to neuen. 190

wherto neuyns thou me therto?

I had neuer with the to do,

how shuld it then be myne?

whos is that chyld, so god the spede?

Maria: Syr, godys and yowrs, with-uten drede. 195

Ioseph: That word had thou to tyne,

ffor it is right full far me fro,

And I forthynkys thou has done so

Thise ill dedys bedene.

And if thou speke thi selfe to spyll, 200

It is full sore agans my wyll,

If better myght haue bene.

Maria: At godys wyll, Ioseph, must it be,

ffor certainly bot god and ye

I know none othere man, 205

ffor fleshly was I neuer fylyd.

Ioseph: how shuld thou thus then be with chyld?

Excuse the well thou can!

I blame the not, so god me saue,

woman maners if that thou haue, 210

Bot certys I say the this:

well wote thou, and so do I,

Thi body fames the openly,

That thou has done amys.

Maria: yee, god he knowys all my doying. 215

Ioseph: we! now this is a wonder thyng,

I can noght say therto,

220

Bot in my hart I haue grett care,
 And ay the longer mare and mare,
 ffor doyll what shall I do?

225

Godys and myn she says it is!
 I wyll not fader it, she says amys.
 ffor shame yit shuld she let
 To excuse hir velany by me.
 with hir I thynk no longer be,
 I rew that euer we met.

230

And how we met ye shall wyt sone:
 Men vse yong chyl dren for to done
 In temple for to lere;
 So dyd thay hir, to she wex more
 Then othere madyns wyse of lore,
 then byshopes sayd to hir:

235

"Mary, the behowfys to take
 Som yong man to be thi make,
 As thou seys other hane
 In the temple, which thou wyll neu en."
 And she sayd: "none bot god of heuen,"—
 To hym she had hir tane.

[30b]

240

She wold none othere for any sagh;
 Thay sayd she must, it was the lagh,
 She was of age thertill.
 To the temple thay somond old and ying,
 All of Iuda ofspryng,
 The law for to fulfill.

245

Thay gaf ich man a white wand,
 And bad vs bere them in oure hande,
 To offre with good intent.
 Thay offerd thare yerdes vp in that tyde;
 ffor I was old I stode be syde,
 I wyst not what thay ment.

250

Thay lakyd oone thay sayde in hy,
 All had offerd, thay sayd, bot I,
 ffor I ay withdrogh me.
 ffurth with my wande thay mayd me com,
 In my hand it floryshed with blome, 255
 Then sayde they all to me :

“If thou be old meruell not the,
 ffor god of heuen thus ordans he,
 Thi wand shewys openly ;
 It florishes so, withouten nay, 260
 That the behovys wed mary the may.”
 A sory man then was I.

I was full sory in my thoght,
 I sayd for old I myght noght
 hir haue neuer the wheder. 265
 I was vnlykely to hir so y[i]ng,
 Thay sayde ther helpyd none excusyng,
 And wed vs thus togeder.

when I all thus had wed hir thare,
 we and my madyns home [g]an fare, 270
 That kyngys doghters were.
 All wroght thay sylk to fynd them on ;
 Marie wroght purpyll, the oder none
 bot othere colers sere.

I left thaym in good peasse, wenyd I ; 275
 Into the contre I went on hy,
 My craft to vse with mayn,
 To gett oure lyfyng I must nede ;
 On marie I prayd them take good hede,
 To that I cam agane. 280

Neyn monethes was I fro that myld;
 when I cam home she was with chyld,—
 Alas, I sayd, for shame!

I askyd ther women who that had done,
 285 And thay me sayde an angell sone
 syn that I went from hame:

“An angell spake with that wyght,
 And no man els, bi day nor nyght,
 sir, therof be ye bold.”

290 Thay excusyd hir thos sothly
 To make hir clene of hir foly,
 And babyshed me that was old.

[31 a] Shuld an angell this dede haue wrought?
 Sich excusyng helpys noght,
 295 ffor no craft that thay can.

A heuenly thyng forsothe is he,
 And she is erthely; this may not be,
 It is som othere man.

300 Certys I forthynk sore of hir dede,
 Bot it is long of yowth-hede,
 All sich wanton playes,
 ffor yong women wyll nedys play them
 with yong men, if old forsake them,
 Thus it is sene always.

305 Bot marie and I playd neuer so sam,
 Neuer togeder we vsid that gam,
 I cam hir neuer so nere.

she is as clene as cristall clyfe
 ffor me, and shalbe whyls I lyf,—
 310 The law wyll it be so.

And then am I cause of hir dede?
 ffor-thi then can I now no rede,
 Alas, what I am wo!

And sothly, if it so befall,
 Godys son that she be withall— 315
 If sich grace myght betyde—
 I wote well that I am not he
 which that is worthy to be
 That blyssed body besyde,

 Nor yit to be in company; 320
 To wyldernes I will, for-thi,
 Enfors me for to fare,
 And neuer longer with hir dele,
 Bot styllly shall I from hir stele,
 That mete shall we no mare. 325

[Scene 5]

Angelus: Do wa, Ioseph, and mend thy thoght,
 I warne the well, and weynd thou noght
 To wyldernes so wylde.
 Turne home to thi spouse agane,
 look thou deme in hir no trane, 330
 ffor she was neuer ffylde.

wyte thou no wyrkyng of Werkys wast;
 She hase consauyd the holy gast,
 And she shall bere godys son.
 ffor-thy with hir in thi degre, 335
 Meke and buxom looke thou be,
 And with hir dwell and won.

Ioseph: A, lord, I lofe the all alon,
 That vowches safe that I be oone
 To tent that chyld so ying, 340
 I that thus haue vngrathly gone,
 And vntruly taken apon
 Mary, that dere darlyng.

I rewe full sore that I haue sayde,
 345 And of hir byrding hir vpbrade,
 And she not gylty is.
 [31b] ffor-thi to hir now wyll I weynde,
 And pray hir for to be my freynde,
 And aske hir forgyfnes.

[Scene 6]

350 A, mary, wyfe, what chere?

Maria: The better, sir, that ye are here.

Thus long where haue ye lent?

Ioseph: Certys, walkyd aboute lyke a fon,
 That wrangwysly hase taken apon,

355 I wyst neuer What I ment.

Bot I wote well, my lemman fre,

I haue trespast to god and the,

fforgyf me I the pray!

Maria: Now all that euer ye sayde me to

360 God forgyf you, and I do

With all the myght I may.

Ioseph: Gramercy, mary, thi good wyll

So kyndly forgyfys that I sayde yll,

When I [g]an the vpbrade.

365 Bot well is hym hase sich a fode,

A meke wyf; withouten goode

he may well hold hym payde.

A, what I am as light as lynde!

he that may both lowse and bynde,

370 And euery mys amend,

leyn me grace, powere, and myght,

My wyfe and hir swete yong wight

To kepe to my lyfys ende.

Explicit Annunciatio beate Marie.

[Play 11.] INCIPT SALUTACIO ELEZABETH.

Maria: My lord of heuen, that syttys he
And all thyng seys with ee,
The safe, Elezabeth!

Elezabeth: Welcom, mary, blyssyd blome,
Ioyfull am I of thi com
To me, from nazareth. 5

Maria: how standys it with you, dame, of qwart?

Elezabeth: well, my doghter and dere hart,
As can for myn elde.

Maria: To speke with you me thoght full lang, 10
ffor ye with childe in elde gang,
And ye be cald geld.

Elezabeth: ffull lang shall I the better be
That I may speke my fyll with the,
My dere kyns Woman, 15
To wytt how thi freyndys fare
In thi countre where thay are,
Therof tell me thou can,

And how thou farys, my dere derlyng. [32 a]

Maria: Well, dame, gramercy youre askyng, 20
ffor good I wote ye spyre.

Elezabeth: And Ioachym, thy fader, at hame,
And Anna, my nese, and thi dame,
how standys it with hym and hir?

Maria: Dame, yit ar thay both on-lyfe, 25
Both ioachym and anna his wyfe.

Elezabeth: Els were my hart full sore.

Maria: Dame, god that all may,
yeld you that ye say,
And blys you therfore. 30

Elezabeth: Blyssyd be thou of all women,
 And the fruyte that I well ken
 Within the wombe of the.
 And this tyme may I blys
 35 That my lordys moder is
 Comen thus vnto me.

ffor syn that tyme full well I wote,
 The stevyn of angell voce it smote
 And rang now in myn ere.
 40 A selcouth thyng is me betyde,
 The chyld makys Ioy, as any b[ry]d
 That I in body bere.

And als, mary, blyssed be thou,
 That stedfastly wold trow
 45 The wordys of oure heven kyng;
 Therefore all thyng now shall be kend,
 That vnto the were sayd or send
 By the angell gretyng.

Maria: Magnificat anima dominum.
 My saull lufys my lord abuf,
 50 And my gost gladys with luf,
 In god that is my hele;
 ffor he has bene sene agane,
 The buxumnes of his bane,
 And kept me madyn lele.

Lo, therof what me shall betyde:
 All nacyons on euery syde
 Blyssyd shall me call,
 55 ffor he that is full of myght
 Mekyll thyng to me has dyght,
 60 his name be blyssed ouer all,

And his mercy is also
ffrom kynde to kynde, tyll all tho
That ar hym dredand.

Myght in his armes he wroght,
And dystroed in his thogth

65

Prowde men and hygh berand.

Myghty men furth of sete he dyd,
And he hyghtynd in that stede
The meke men of hart.

The hungre With all good he fyld,
And left the rich outt-shyld,

[32b]

Thaym to Vnquart.

Israell has vnder law,
his awne son in his awe,
By menys of his mercy;
As he told before by name
To oure fader abraham,
And seyde of his body.

75

Elezabeth, myn awnt dere,
My lefe I take at you here,
ffor I dwell now full lang.

80

Elezabeth: wyll thou now go, godys fere?

Com kys me, doghter, with good chere,
or thou hens gang.

ffarewell now, thou frely foode!
I pray the be of comforth goode,
ffor thou art full of grace.

85

Grete well all oure kyn of bloode!
That lord, that the with grace infude,
he saue all in this place!

90

[Play 12.] INCIPIT PAGINA PASTORUM.

Primus Pastor :

Lord, what thay ar weyll that hens ar past!
 ffor thay noght feyll theym to downe cast.
 here is mekyll vnceyll and long has it last,
 Now in hart, now in heyll, now in weytt, now in blast,

5 Now in care,
 Now in comforth agane,
 Now [in] fayre, now [in] rane,
 Now in hart full fane,
 And after full sare.

[33a] Thus this World, as I say, farys on ylk syde,
 ffor after oure play com sorows vnryde,
 ffor he that most may When he syttys in pryde,
 When it comys on assay is kesten downe wyde.

This is seyn,
 15 When ryches is he,
 Then comys pouerte;
 hors-man Iak cope
 Walkys then, I weyn.

I thank it god, hark ye what I mene,
 20 ffor euen or for od I haue mekyll tene,
 As heuy as a sod I grete with myn eene,
 When I nap on my cod, for care that has bene,
 And sorrow.

All my shepe ar gone,
 25 I am not left oone,
 The rott has theym slone,
 Now beg I and borow.

My handys may I wryng and mowrnyng make,
 But-if good will spryng the countre forsake;
 ffermes thyk ar coming, my purs is bot wake, 30
 I haue nerehand nothyng to pay nor to take.

I may syng
 With purs penneles,
 That makys this heuynes.
 Wo is me this dystres! 35
 And has no helpyng.

Thus sett I my mynde, truly to neuen,
 By my wytt to fynde to cast the world in seuen.
 My shepe haue I tynde by the moren full euen!
 Now if hap will grynde, god from his heuen 40

Send grace!
 To the fare will I me
 To by shepe, perde,
 And yit may I multyple,
 ffor all this hard case. 45

Secundus pastor:

Benste, benste! be vs emang,
 And saue all that I se here in this thrang!
 he saue you and me, ouertwhart and endlang,
 That hang on a tre, I say you no wrang!

Cryst saue vs 50
 ffrom all myschefys,
 ffrom robbers and thefys,
 ffrom those mens' greffys
 That oft ar agans vs.

Both bosters and bragers god kepe vs fro, [33b]
 That with thare long daggers dos mekyll wo,
 ffrom all byll-hagers with colknyfys that go.
 Sich wryers and wragers gose to and fro
 ffor to crack;

60 Whoso says hym agane,
were better be slane;
Both ploghe and wane
Amendys will not make.

he will make it as prowde a lord as he were,
65 With a hede lyke a clowde ffelterd his here,
he spekys on-lowde with a grym bere,
I wold not haue trowde so galy in gere
As he glydys.

I wote not the better,
70 Nor wheder is gretter,
The lad or the master,
So stowtly he strydys.

If he hask me oght that he wold to his pay,
ffull dere bese it boght, if I say nay.
75 Bot god that all wrought, to the now I say,
help that thay were broght to a better way
ffor thare sawlys,
And send theym good mandyng
With a short endyng,
80 And with the to be lendyng
When that thou callys.

how, gyb, goode morne, wheder goys thou?
Thou goys ouer the corne, gyb, I say, how!
primus pastor:

Who is that? John horne! I make god a vow!
85 I say not in scorne, [Jhon], how farys thou?
Secundus pastor: hay, ha[y]!

Ar ye in this towne?
primus pastor: yey, by my crowne!
ijus pastor: I thoght by youre gowne

90 This was youre aray.

primus pastor :

I am euer elyke, wote I neuer what it gars;
Is none in this ryke a shepard farys wars.

ijus pastor :

poore men ar in the dyke, and oft tyme mars;
The world is slyke, also helpars
Is none here.

95

primus pastor : It is sayde full ryfe,

"a man may not wyfe
and also thryfe,
And all in a yere."

ijus pastor : ffyrst must vs crepe and sythen go.

100

primus pastor : I go to by shepe.

Secundus :

nay, not so!

What, dreme ye or slepe? where shuld thay go? [34a]
here shall thou none kepe.

primus pastor :

A, good sir ho!

Who am I?

I wyll pasture my fe
where so euer lykys me,
here shall thou theym se.

105

ijus pastor : Not so hardy!

Not oone shepe tayll shall thou bryng hedyr.

primus pastor :

I shall bryng, no fayll, A hundreth togedyr.

110

ijus pastor :

What, art thou in ayll? longs thou oght whedir?

primus pastor :

Thay shall go, saunce fayll; go now, bell-weder!

ijus pastor : I say, tyr!

primus pastor : I say, tyr, now agane!

I say skyp ouer the plane!

115

ijus pastor : wold thou neuer so fane,

Tup, I say, whyr!

primus pastor :

What, wyll thou not yit, I say, let the shepe go?
Whop!

Secundus pastor : abyde yit!

primus pastor : Will thou bot so!

120 knafe, hens I byd flytt as good that thou do,
Or I shall the hytt on thi pate, lo,
shall thou reyll.

I say, gyf the shepe space.

ijus pastor :

Syr—a letter of your grace—
125 here comys slaw-pase
ffro the myln-whele.

Tercius pastor :

What a do, what a do is this you betweyn?

A! good day, thou, and thou.

primus pastor : hark what I meyn
you to say,—

130 I was bowne to by store,
drofe my shepe me before,
he says not oone hore
shall pas by this way,

Bot, and he were wood, this way shall thay go.

ijus pastor :

135 yey, bot tell me good where ar youre shepe, lo?

ijus pastor : Now, sir, by my hode, yit se I no mo,
Not syn I here stode.

ijus pastor : god gyf you wo
and sorow!

ye fysh before the nett,
140 And stryfe on this bett
sich folys neuer I mett
Evyn or at morow.

It is wonder to wyt where wytt shuld be fownde,
 here ar old knafys yit standys on this grownde,
 these wold by thare wytt make a ship be drownde; 145
 he were well qwytt had sold for a pownde
 sich two.

thay fyght and thay flyte
 ffor that [th]at comys not tyte;
 It is far to byd hyte
 To an eg or it go.

150

Tytter want ye sowll then sorow I pray; [34b]
 Ye brayde of mowll that went by the way,
 Many shepe can she poll bot oone had she ay,
 Bot she happynynd full fowll; hyr pycher, I say, 155
 Was broken.

"ho, god," she sayde,
 bot oone shepe yit she hade;
 The mylk pycher was layde,
 The skarthis was the tokyn.

160

Bot syn ye ar bare of wysdom to kn[a]we,
 Take hede how I fare and lere at my lawe;
 ye nede not to care if ye folow my sawe.
 hold ye my mare, this sek thou thrawe

On my bak,
 Whylst I, with my hand,
 lawse the sek band;
 Com nar and by stand
 Both gy[b] and Iak.

165

Is not all shakyn owte and no meyll is therin? 170
primus pastor: yey, that is no dowte.

Tercius pastor: so is youre wyttys thyn.

And ye look well abowte nawther more nor myn,

149 that] at MS, E
 169 gyb] gyg MS, E

161 knawe] so E, MS has knowe

So gose youre wyttys owte evyn as It com In,—
Geder vp

175 And seke it agane.

ijus pastor: May we not be fane—
he has told vs full plane—
Wysdom to sup?

Iak garcio: Now god gyf you care; foles all sam
180 Sagh I neuer so fare bot the foles of gotham.
Wo is hir that you bare, youre syre and youre dam,
had she broght furth an hare, a shepe, or a lam,
had bene well.
Of all the foles I can tell
185 ffrom heuen vnto hell
ye thre bere the bell,
God gyf you vnceyll.

primus pastor:

how pastures oure fee? say me, good pen.

Garcio: Thay are gryssed to the kne.

ijus pastor: fare fall the!

Garcio: Amen!

190 If ye will ye may se youre bestes ye ken.

primus pastor:

Sytt we downe all thre and drynk shall we then.

ijus pastor: yey torde!

I am leuer ete.

what is drynk withoute mete?

195 Gett mete, gett,

And sett vs a borde,

Then may we go dyne oure bellys to fyll.

ijus pastor: Abyde vnto syne!

ijus pastor: be god, sir, I nyll!

I am worthy the wyne, me thynk it good skyll.

[35a] Me seruyse I tyne, I fare full yll

At youre mangere.

primus pastor: Trus! go we to mete,
It is best that we trete,
I lyst not plete
To stand in thi dangere;

205

Thou has euer bene curst syn we met togeder.
iius pastor:
Now in fayth, if I durst, ye ar euen my broder.

ijus pastor:
Syr, let vs cryb furst for oone thyng or oder,
That thise wordis be purst, and let vs go foder
Oure mompyns.
lay furth of oure store,
lo here! browne of a bore.

210

primus pastor: Set mustard afore,
oure mete now begyns,

here a foote of a cowe well sawsed, I wene,
The pestell of a sowe that powderd has bene,
Two blodynge, I trow, A leueryng betwene,—
Do gladly, syrs, now my breder bedene,
With more.

215

Both befe, and moton
Of an ewe that was roton,
Good mete for a gloton;
Ete of this store.

220

ijus pastor: I haue here in my mayll sothen and rost,
Euen of an ox tayll that wold not be lost,
—ha! ha! goderhayll! I let for no cost—
A good py or we fayll, this is good for the frost
In a mornyng,
And two swyne gronys,
All an hare bot the lonys;
We myster no sponys
here, at oure mangyng.

225

230

ijus pastor: here is to recorde the leg of a goys,
 with chekyns endorde, pork, partryk, to roys,
 235 A tart for a lorde, how thynk ye this doys?
 A calf lyuer skorde with the veryose,
 Good sawse,
 This is a restorete
 To make a good appete.
 240 *primus pastor*: yee speke all by clerge[te],
 I here by your clause.

Cowth ye by youre gramery reche vs a drynk,
 I shuld be more mery, ye wote What I thynk.
ijus pastor:
 haue good ayll of hely, bewar now, I wynk,
 245 ffor and thou drynk drely in thy poll wyll it synk.
primus pastor: A! so!
 This is boyte of oure bayll,
 good holsom ayll.
ijus pastor: ye hold long the skayll,
 250 Now lett me go to.

Secundus pastor:

I shrew those lyppys bot thou leyff me som parte.

primus pastor:

be god! he bot syppys, begylde thou art,
 Behold how he kyppys.

[35b] *Secundus pastor*: I shrew you so smart,

And me on my hyppys bot-if I gart

255 Abate.

Be thou wyne, be thou ayll,

bot-if my brethe fayll,

I shall sett the òn-sayll;

God send the good gayte!

Tercius pastor :

Be my dam saul, alyce, It was sadly dronken. 260

primus pastor :

Now, as ever haue I blys, to the bothom it is sonken

ijus pastor : yit a botell here is.

Tercius pastor : that is well spoken,

By my thryft; we must kys.

Secundus pastor : that had I forgotten.

Bot hark!

Who so can best syng 265

Shall haue the begynnyng.

primus pastor : Now prays at the partyng

I shall sett you on warke;

We haue done oure parte and songyn right weyll;

I drynk for my parte.

ijus pastor : Abyde, lett cop reyll. 270

primus pastor :

Godys forbot, thou spart and thou drynk euery deyll.

ijus pastor : Thou hast dronken a quart, therefore
choke the the deyll.

primus pastor : Thou rafys;

And it were for a sogh

Ther is drynk enogh. 275

ijus pastor : I shrew the handys it drogh!

ye be both knafys.

primus pastor : Nay, we knaues all, thus thynk me best,
so, sir, shuld ye call.

ijus pastor : furth let it rest:

we will not brall.

primus pastor : then wold I we fest: 280

This mete Who shall into panyere kest?

ijus pastor : syrs, herys!

ffor oure saules lett vs do,

Poore men gyf it to.

285 *primus pastor*: Geder vp, lo, lo,
ye hungre begers frerys!

ijus pastor: It draes nere nyght, trus! go we to rest,
I am euen redy dyght, I thynk it the best.

ijus pastor: fforferde we be fryght a crosse lett vs kest—
290 Cryst crosse, benedyght eest and west,
ffor drede.

Ihesus onazorus,
Crucyefixus,
Morcus, andreus,

295 God be oure spede! *[tunc dormient pastores.]*

Angelus: herkyn, hyrdes, awake! gyf louyng ye shall;
he is borne for youre sake, lorde perpetuall;
he is comen to take and rawnson you all;
youre sorowe to slake, kyng emperiall,

300 he behestys.
That chyld is borne
At bethelem this morne,
ye shall fynde hym beforene
Betwix two bestys.

[36a] *Primus pastor*:

A, godys dere dominus! What was that sang?
306 It was wonder curiose with small noytys emang.
I pray to god saue vs now in this thrang,
I am ferd, by ihesus, somewhat be wrang;
Me thoght
310 Oone scremyd on-lowde,
I suppose it was a clowde,
In myn erys it sowde,
By hym that me boght!

Secundus pastor: Nay, that may not be, I say you certan,
315 ffor he spake to vs thre as he had bene a man;

292 Ihesus] so E, MS reads ihc. after 295, stage-direction] omit
MS, They sleep E 308 ihesus] ihc MS

When he lemyd on this lee my hart shakyd than,
An angell was he, tell you I can,

No dowte.

He spake of a barne,
We must seke hym I you warne,

320

That betokyns yond starne
That standys yonder owte.

Tercius pastor:

It was maruell to se so bright as it shone,
I wold haue trowyd, veraly, it had bene thoner-flone,
But I sagh with myn ee as I lenyd to this stone; 325
It was a mery gle, sich hard I neuer none.

I recorde

As he sayde in a skreme,
Or els that I dreme,
We shuld go to bedleeme,
To wyrship that lorde.

330

primus pastor:

That same childe is he that prophetys of told,
Shuld make them fre that adam had sold.

ijus pastor: Take tent vnto me, this is inrold
By the wordys of Isae: a prynce most bold
shall he be,

335

And kyng with crowne
Sett on dauid throne,
Sich was neuer none
Seyn with oure ee.

340

iius pastor:

Also Isay says, oure faders vs told,
That a vyrgyn shuld pas of lesse, that wold,
Bryng furth, by grace, a floure so bold.
That vyrgyn now has these wordys vphold
As ye se.

345

Trust it now we may,
 he is borne this day,
 Exiet virga
 De radice iesse.

350 *primus pastor*: Of hym spake more Sybyll, as I weyn,
 And nabugodhonor from oure faythe alyene,
 In the fornace where thay wore thre childre sene,
 The fourt stode before, godys son lyke to bene.

ijus pastor: That fygure

355 Was gyffen by reualacyon
 [36b] That god wold haue a son;
 This is a good lesson
 Vs to consydure.

Tercius pastor:

Of hym spake Ieromy and moyses also,
 360 Where he sagh hym by a bushe burnand, lo!
 when he cam to aspy if it were so,
 Vnburnyd was it truly at comyng therto,
 A wonder.

primus pastor: That was for to se
 365 hir holy vyrgynyte,
 That she vnfyld shuld be,
 Thus can I ponder,

And shuld haue a child sich was neuer sene.

ijus pastor:

pese, man, thou art begyld, thou shall se hym with
 370 Of a madyn so myld greatt meruell I mene, [eene,
 yee, and she vnfyld a virgyn clene,
 So soyne.

primus pastor: Nothyng is inpossybyll,
 sothly, that god wyll;
 375 It shalbe stabyll
 That god wyll haue done.

ijus pastor: Abacuc and ely prophesyde so,
 Elezabeth and zachare, and many other mo,
 And dauid as veraly is witnes therto,
 Iohn Baptyste sewrly and daniel also, 380

ijus pastor: So sayng:
 he is godys son alon,
 withoute hym shalbe none,
 his sete and his trone
 Shall euer be lastyng. 385

primus pastor:
 Virgill, in his poetre, sayde in his verse
 Even thus by gramere, as I shall rehearse:

“Iam noua progenies celo demittitur alto,
 Iam rediet virgo, redeunt saturnia regna.”

ijus pastor:
 weme! torde! what speke ye here in myn eeres?
 Tell vs no clerge, I hold you of the freres.
 ye preche! 390

It semys by youre laton
 ye haue lerd youre caton.

primus pastor: herk, syrs, ye fon,
 I shall you teche.

he sayde from heuen a new kynde is send, 395
 whom a vyrgyn to neuen, oure mys to amend,
 Shall conceyue full euen, thus make I an end.
 And yit more to neuen, that samyne shall bend [37a]
 vnto vs,

With peasse and plente, 400
 with ryches and menee,
 Good luf and charyte
 Blendyd amanges vs.

Tercius pastor: And I hold it trew, ffor ther shuld be,
 405 When that kyng commys, new peasse by land and se.

ijus pastor: Now, brethre, adew! take tent vnto me!

I wold that we knew of this song so fre

Of the angell;

I hard by hys steuen

410 he was send downe ffro heuen.

primus pastor: It is trouth that ye neuen,

I hard hym well spell.

ijus pastor:

Now by god that me boght, it was a mery song

I dar say that he broght foure & twenty to a long.

415 *ijus pastor*: I wold it were soght that same vs emong.

primus pastor: In fayth I trow noght so many he throng

On a heppe;

Thay were gentyll and small,

And well tonyd with all.

420 *ijus pastor*: yee, bot I can thaym all,

Now lyst I lepe.

primus pastor: Brek outt youre voce, let se as ye yelp.

ijus pastor: I may not for the pose bot I haue help.

secundus pastor:

A! thy hart is in thy hose!

primus pastor: now, in payn of a skelp

This sang thou not lose!

425 *ijus pastor*: thou art an yll qwelp

ffor angre!

secundus pastor: Go to now, begyn!

primus pastor: he lyst not well ryn.

ijus pastor: God lett vs neuer blyn;

430 Take at my sangre.

primus pastor:

Now an ende haue we doyn of oure song this tyde.

ijus pastor: ffayr fall thi growne, well has thou hyde.

ijus pastor: Then furth lett vs ron, I wyll not abyde.

primus pastor: No lyght makethe mone, that haue I

Neuer the less [asspyde; 435

lett vs hold oure beheste.

ijus pastor: That hold I best.

ijus pastor: Then must we go eest,

After my ges.

primus pastor:

440

wold god that we myght this yong bab see!

ijus pastor: Many prophetys that syght desyryd veralee
to haue seen that bright.

ijus pastor: and god so hee

wold shew vs that Wyght, we myght say, perde, [37b]

We had sene

That many sant desyryd,

445

with prophetys inspyryd;

If thay hym requyryd

yit I-closyd ar thare eene.

ijus pastor: God graunt vs that grace!

Tercius pastor: god so do!

primus pastor: Abyde, syrs, a space, lo yonder, lo! 450

It comys on a rase, yond sterne vs to.

ijus pastor: It is a grete blase, oure gate let vs go.

[*tunc ibunt pastores ad Bethlem.*]

[Scene 2]

[*ijus pastor*]: here he is!

ijus pastor: Who shall go in before?

primus pastor: I ne rek, by my hore.

455

ijus pastor: ye ar of the old store,

It semys you, Iwys.

after 452, *tunc ibunt etc.*] omit MS, They go to Bethlehem E

after 457] They enter the stable E

primus pastor :

hayll, kyng I the call! hayll, most of myght!
 hayll, the worthyst of all! hayll, duke! hayll, knyght!
 460 Of greatt and small thou art lorde by right;
 hayll, perpetuall! hayll, fayrst wyght!
 here I offer,
 I pray the to take
 If thou wold for my sake,
 465 —with this may thou lake—
 This lytyll spruse cofer.

Secundus pastor :

hayll, lytyll tyn mop, rewarder of mede!
 hayll, bot oone drop of grace at my nede!
 hayll, lytyll mylk sop! hayll, dauid sede!
 470 Of oure crede thou art crop, hayll, in god-hede!
 This ball
 That thou wold resaeue!
 lytyll is that I haue;
 This wyll I vowche-saue,
 475 To play the with all.

iiijus pastor : hayll, maker of man! hayll, swetyng!

hayll, so as I can, hayll, praty mytyng!
 I cowche to the than, for fayn nere gretyng.
 hayll, lord! here I ordan now at oure metyng
 480 This botell—
 It is an old by-worde,
 It is a good bowrde
 for to drynk of a gowrde—
 It holdys a mett potell.

485 *Maria* : he that all myghtys may, the makere of heuen,
 That is for to say, my son that I neuene,
 Rewarde you this day, as he sett all on seuene.
 He graunt you for ay his blys full euen
 Contynuyng.

He gyf you good grace!

[38 a]

Tell furth of this case.

491

he spede youre pase,

And graunt you good endyng!

primus pastor:

ffare-well, fare lorde! with thy moder also.

ijus pastor: we shall this recorde where as we go. 495

iius pastor:

we mon all be restorde, god graunt it be so!

primus pastor: Amen to that worde, syng we therto

On hight.

To Ioy all sam,

With myrth and gam,

500

To the lawde of this lam

Syng we in syght.

Explicit Vna pagina pastorum.

[PLAY 13.] INCIPIT ALIA EORUNDEM.

Primus pastor :

[happyd ;

Lord, what these weders ar cold ! and I am yll
I am nere-hand dold so lang haue I nappyd,
My legys thay fold, my fyngers ar chappyd,
It is not as I wold, for I am al lappyd

5 In sorow,

In stormes and tempest,
Now in the eest, now in the west.
wo is hym has neuer rest
Myd day nor morrow !

10 Bot we sely shephardes, that walkys on the more,
In fayth we are nere-handys outt of the doore.

[38b] No wonder, as it standys, if we be pore,
ffor the tylthe of oure landys lyys falow as the floore,
As ye ken.

15 we ar so [l]amyd,
ffor-taxed and ramyd,
We ar mayde hand-tamyd
with these gentlery men.

Thus thay refe vs oure rest, oure lady theym wary !
20 These men, that ar lord, fest, thay cause the ploghe
tary.

That men say is for the best we fynde it contrary ;
Thus ar husbandys opprest in po[i]nte to myscary
On lyfe.

Thus hold thay vs hunder,
25 Thus thay bryng vs to blonder ;
It were greatte wonder
And euer we shuld thryfe.

Ther shall com a swane as prowde as a po;
 he must borow my wane, my ploghe also,
 Then am I full fane to graunt or he go. 30
 Thus lyf we in payne, Anger, and wo,

By nyght and day;
 He must haue if he langyd;
 If I shuld forgang it,
 I were better be hangyd 35
 Then oones say hym nay.

ffor may he gett a paynt slefe or a broche, now-on-
 dayes,
 wo is hym that hym grefe or onys agane-says!
 Dar noman hym reprefe what mastery he may,
 And yit may noman lefe oone word that he says, 40
 No letter.

he can make purveance
 with boste and bragance,
 And all is thugh maintenance
 Of men that are gretter. 45

It does me good, as I walk thus by myn oone,
 Of this world for to talk in maner of mone.
 To my shepe wyll I stalk and herkyn anone,
 Ther abyde on a balk or sytt on a stone
 fful soyne. 50

ffor I trowe, perde,
 trew men if thay be,
 we gett more compane
 Or it be noyne.

Secundus pastor:

Benste and dominus! what may this bemeyne? 55
 why, fares this world thus oft haue we not sene?

lord, thyse weders ar spytus and the weders full kene,
 [39 a] And the frostys so hydus thay water myn eeyne,
 Noly.

60 Now in dry, now in wete,
 Now in snaw, now in slete,
 When my shone freys to my fete,
 It is not all esy.

Bot as far as I ken, or yit as I go,
 65 we sely wedmen dre mekyll wo,
 We haue sorow then and then, it fallys oft so.
 Sely capyle, oure hen, both to and fro
 She kakyls,

Bot begyn she to crok,
 70 To groyne, or [to clo]k,
 Wo is hym of oure cok,
 ffor he is in the shekyls.

These men that ar wed hane not all thare wyll;
 when they ar full hard sted, thay sygh full styll,
 75 God wayte, thay ar led full hard and full yll
 This tyde.

My parte haue I fun,
 I know my lesson.
 80 wo is hym that is bun,
 ffor he must abyde.

Bot now late in oure lyfys a meruell to me,
 That I thynk my hart ryfys sich wonders to see;
 what that destany dryfys it shuld so be,
 85 Som men wyll have two wyfys and som men thre
 In store,
 Som ar wo that has any,
 Bot so far can I,
 wo is hym that has many,
 90 ffor he felys sore.

Bot, yong men of wowyng, for god that you boght,
Be well war of wedyng and thynk in youre thoght,
"had I wyst" is a thyng [tha]t seruys of noght.

Mekyll styll mowrnyng has wedyng home broght,

And grefys,

95

with many a sharp showre ;

ffor thou may cach in an owre

that shall [savour] fulle sowre

As long as thou lyffys.

ffor, as euer red I pystyll, I haue oone to my fere, 100

As sharp as a thystyll, as rough as a brere,

She is browyd lyke a brystyll with a sowre loten

chere ;

had She oones Wett Hyr Whystyll She couth Syng [39b]

Hyr pater noster.

[full clere

She is as greatt as a whall,

105

She has a galon of gall ;

By hym that dyed for vs all,

I wald I had ryn to I had lost hyr.

primus pastor :

God looke ouer the raw, ffull defly ye stand !

ijus pastor : yee, the dewill in thi maw so tariand. 110

sagh thou awro of daw ?

primus pastor :

yee, on a ley land

hard I hym blaw. he commys at hand

Not far,

Stand styll.

ijus pastor : qwhy ?

primus pastor : ffor he commys, hope I. 115

ijus pastor : he wyll make vs both a ly

Bot-if we be-war.

Tercius pastor:

Crystys crosse me spede and sant nycholas!
Ther-of had I nede, it is wars then it was.

120 Whoso couthe, take hede and lett the world pas,
It is euer in drede and brekyll as glas,
And slythys.

This world fowre neuer so
With meruels mo and mo,
125 Now in weyll, now in wo,
And all thyng wrythys.

Was neuer syn noe floode sich floodys seyn,
Wyndys and ranys so rude and stormes so keyn,
130 Som stamerd, som stod in dowte, as I weyn;
Now god turne all to good, I say as I mene,
ffor ponder.

These floodys so thay drowne,
Both in feyldys and in towne,
And berys all downe,
135 And that is a wonder.

We that walk on the nyghtys oure catell to kepe,
We se sodan syghtys when othere men slepe.
yit me thynk my hart lyghtys, I se shrewys pepe;
ye ar two all wyghtys, I wyll gyff my shepe

140 A turne.
Bot full yll haue I ment,
As I walk on this bent,
I may lyghtly repent,
My toes if I spurne.

145 A! sir, god you saue, and master myne!
A drynk fayn wold I haue and somewhat to dyne.

137 slepe | MS *had originally slepys, changed by later hand to slepe.*

primus pastor:

Crystys curs, my knaue, thou art a ledyr hyne!

ijus pastor: What! the boy lyst raue; abyde vnto syne,

We haue mayde it.

yll thryft on thy pate!

159

Though the shrew cam late

[40a]

yit is he in state

To dyne, if he had it.

Tercius pastor:

Sich seruandys as I, that swettys and swynkys,
Etys oure brede full dry, and that me forthynkys. 155

We ar oft weytt and wery when master-men wynkys.
yit commys full lately both dyners and drynkys.

Bot nately

Both oure dame and oure syre,
when we haue ryn in the myre,

160

Thay can nyp at oure hyre

And pay vs full lately.

Bot here my trouth, master, for the fayr that ye
I shall do therafter wyrk as I take, [make.

I shall do a lytyll, sir, and [enough] euer lake, 165
ffor yit lay my soper neuer on my stomake

In feyldys.

Wherto shuld I threpe?

with my staf can I lepe,

And men say "lyght chepe

170

letherly for-yeldys."

primus pastor: Thou were an yll lad to ryde on wowyng

With a man that had bot lytyll of spendyng.

ijus pastor: Peasse, boy, I bad no more langling,

Or I shall make the full rad, by the heuen's kyng, 175

with thy gawdys!

wher ar oure shepe, boy, we skorne?
iius pastor: Sir, this same day at morne
 I thaym left in the corne,

180 when thay rang lawdys;

Thay haue pasture good, thay can not go wrong.
primus pastor:

That is right, by the roode! thyse nyghtys ar long,
 yit I wold, or we yode, one gaf vs a song.

ijus pastor: So I thocht as I stode to myrth vs emong.

185 *iius pastor*: I grauntt.

primus pastor: lett me syng the tenory.

ijus pastor: And I the tryble so hye.

ijus pastor: Then the meyne fallys to me,
 lett se how you chauntt.

Tunc intrat Mak, in clamide se super togam vestitus.

190 *Mak*: Now, lord, for thy naymes sevyn, that made
 both moyn and starnes,
 Well mo then I can neuen, thi will, lorde, of me
 tharnys;

[40b] I am all vneuen, that moves oft my harnes;
 Now Wold god I were in heuen for the[re] wepe
 So styll! [no barnes,

195 *primus pastor*: Who is that pypys so poore?

Mak: wold god ye wyst how I foore!

lo, a man that walkys on the moore,
 And has not all his wyll!

secundus pastor:

Mak, where has thou go[n]? tell vs tythyng.

Tercius pastor:

200 Is he commen? then ylkon take hede to his thyng.

& accepit clamidem ab ipso.

Mak: what! ich be a yoman, I tell you, of the king,
 The self and the same, sond from a greatt lordyng,
 And sich
 ffy on you! goyth hence
 Out of my presence!
 I must haue reuerence.
 why, who be ich?

205

primus pastor:

Why make ye it so qwaynt, mak? ye do wrang.

ijus pastor: Bot, mak, lyst ye saynt? I trow that ye lang.

ijus pastor:

I trow the shrew can paynt, the dewyll myght hym
 hang!

Mak: Ich shall make complaynt and make you all
 At a worde, [to thwang,
 And tell euyñ how ye doth.

primus pastor: Bot, Mak, is that sothe?

Now take outt that sothren tothe,
 And sett in a torde!

215

ijus pastor:

Mak, the dewill in youre ee, a stroke wold I leyne you.

ijus pastor:

Mak, know ye not me? by god, I couthe teyn you.

Mak: God looke you all thre! me thoght I had sene you,
 ye ar a fare compane.

primus pastor: can ye now mene you? 220

secundus pastor: Shrew, lape!

Thus late as thou goys,
 what wyll men suppos?
 And thou has an yll noys
 of stelyng of shepe.

225

Mak: And I am trew as steyll, all men waytt,
 Bot a sekenes I feyll that haldys me full haytt,

My belly farys not weyll, it is out of astate.

iius pastor:

Seldom lyys the dewyll dede by the gate.

²³⁰ *Mak:* Therfor

full sore am I and yll,

If I stande stone styll.

I ete not an nedyll

This moneth and more.

primus pastor:

²³⁵ how farys thi wyff? by my hoode, how farys sho?

Mak: lyys walteryng, by the roode, by the fyere, lo!

[41a] And a howse full of brude, she drynkys well, to.
yll spede othere good that she wyll do!

Bot s[h]o

²⁴⁰ Etys as fast as she can,

And ilk yere that commys to man

She bryngys furth a lakan,

And som yeres two.

Bot were I not more gracyus and rychere befar,

²⁴⁵ I where etyn outt of howse and of harbar;

Yit she is a fowl dowse, if ye com nar;

Ther is none that trowse nor knowys a war

Then ken I.

Now wyll ye se what I profer,

²⁵⁰ To gyf all in my cofer

To morne at next to offer

hyr hed mas penny.

Secundus pastor:

I wote so forwakyd is none in this shyre,

I wold slepe if I takyd les to my hyere.

iius pastor: I am cold and nakyd and wold haue a fyere.

²⁵⁵ *primus pastor:* I am very, for-rakyd, and run in the
wake thou! [myre.]

ijus pastor: Nay, I wyll lyg downe by,
ffor I must slepe truly.

ijus pastor: As good a man's son was I
As any of you.

269

Bot, mak, com heder! betwene shall thou lyg downe.

Mak:

Then myght I lett you bedene of that ye wold rowne.

No drede,
ffro my top to my too,
Manus tuas commendo,
poncio pilato,

265

Cryst crosse me spede!

Tunc surgit, pastoribus dormientibus, & dicit:

Now were tyme for a man that lakkys what he wold
To stalk preuely than vnto a fold,
And neemly to wyrk than, and be not to bold,
ffor he might aby the bargan if it were told

270

At the endyng.

Now were tyme for to reyll,
Bot he nedys good counsell,
That fayn wold fare weyll,
And has bot lytyll spendyng.

275

Bot abowte you a serkyll as rownde as a moyn,
To I haue done that I wyll, tyll that it be noyn,
That ye lyg stone styll to that I haue doyne.
And I shall say thertyll of good wordys a foyne.

280

On hight

Ouer youre hedys my hand I lyft,
Out go youre een, fordo your syght,
Bot yit I must make better shyft,
And it be right.

[41 b]

285

lord! what thay slepe hard! that may ye all here.
was I neuer a shepard bot now wyll I lere.

If the flock be skard yit shall I nyp nere,
 290 how! drawes hederward! now mendys oure chere
 ffro[m] sorow,
 A fatt shepe I dar say,
 A good flese dar I lay,
 Eft whyte when I may,
 295 Bot this will I borow. [Exit Mak.]

[Scene 2]

[Mak]: how, gyll, art thou In? gett vs som lyght.
Vxor eius: Who makys sich dyn this tyme of the nyght?
 I am sett for to spyn, I hope not I myght
 Ryse a penny to wyn, I shrew them on hight!
 300 So farys
 A huswyff that has bene
 To be rasyd thus betwene,
 here may no note be sene
 ffor sich small charys.
 305 *Mak*: Good wyff, open the hek! seys thou not what
 I bryng?
Vxor: I may thole the dray the snek. A! com in,
 my swetyng
Mak: yee, thou thar not rek of my long standyng.
Vxor: By the nakyd nek art thou lyke for to hyng.
Mak: Do way,
 310 I am worthy my mete,
 ffor in a strate can I gett
 More then thay that swynke and swette
 All the long day.

Thus it fell to my lott, gyll, I had sich grace.
 315 *Vxor*: It were a fowll blott to be hangyd for the case.

291 ffrom] ffron MS after 295, Exit Mak.] omit MS, Mak
 goes home E

Mak: I haue skapyd, Ielott, oft as hard a glase.

Vxor: Bot so long goys the pott to the water, men says,
At last

Comys it home broken.

Mak: well knowe I the token,

320

Bot let it neuer be spoken;

Bot com and help fast.

I wold he were slayn, I lyst well ete, [mete.

This twelmo[n]the was I not so fayn of oone shepe

Vxor: Com thay or he be slayn and here the shepe blete! 325

Mak: Then myght I be tane, that were a cold swette!

Go spar

[42 a]

The gaytt doore.

Vxor: Yis, Mak.

ffor and thay com at thy bak,—

Mak: Then myght I by, for all the pak,

330

The dewill of the war.

Vxor: A good bowrde haue I spied, syn thou can none :

here shall we hym hyde, to thay be gone,

In my credyll, abyde! lett me alone!

And I shall lyg besyde in chyldbed and grone. 335

Mak: Thou red,

And I shall say thou was lyght

Of a knaue childe this nyght.

Vxor: Now well is me day bright

That euer was I bred!

340

This is a good gyse and a far cast,

Yit a woman avyse helpys at the last.

I wote neuer who spyse, agane go thou fast.

Mak: Bot I com or thay ryse els blowes a cold blast!

[*Rediet Mak ad pastores.*]

324 twelmonthe] twelmothe MS E 334 abyde] to abyde K
after 344, Rediet Mak. &c.] omit MS, Mak returns to the Shepherds
and resumes his place E

[Scene 3]

345 [Mak]: I wyll go slepe.
 yit slepys all this meneye,
 And I shall go stalk preuely,
 As it had neuer bene I
 That caryed thare shepe.

primus pastor:

350 Resurrex a mortruis! haue hald my hand!
 Iudas carnas dominus! I may not well stand.
 My foytt slepys, by ihesus! and I water fastand.
 I thoght that we layd vs full nere yngland.

Secundus pastor: A! ye!

355 lord! what I haue slept weyll!
 As fresh as an eyll,
 As lyght I my feyll
 As leyfe on a tre!

Tercius pastor:

Benste be here in! so my [hart] qwakys,
 360 My hart is outt of skyn, what so it makys.
 Who makys all this dyn? so my browes blakys,
 To the dowore wyll I wyn. harke, felows, wakys!
 We were fowre,
 se ye awre of mak now?

365 *primus pastor*: we were vp or thou.

ijus pastor: Man, I gyf god a vowe
 yit yede he nawre.

ijus pastor: Me thoght he was lapt in a wolfe skyn.

primus pastor: So are many hapt now namely within.

ijus pastor:

370 When we had long napt me thoght with a gyn
 [42 b] A fatt shepe he trapt, bot he made no dyn.

Tercius pastor: Be styll,

Thi dreame makys the woode,
 It is bot fantom, by the roode!
primus pastor: Now god turn all to good, 375
 If it be his wyll.

ijus pastor:

Ryse, mak, for shame! thou lygys right lang.
Mak: Now crystys holy name be vs emang!
 what is this? for sant Iame, I may not well gang!
 I trow I be the same. A! my nek has lygen wrang 380
 Enoghe.

Mekill thank! syn yister euen,
 Now, by sant stevyn,
 I was flayd with a swevyn,
 My hart out of sloghe. 385

I thocht gyll began to crok and trauell full sad,
 welner at the fyrst cok, of a yong lad
 ffor to mend oure flock, then be I neuer glad;
 I haue tow on my rok more then euer I had.

A, my heede! 390
 A house full of yong tharmes!
 The dewill knok outt thare harnes!
 wo is hym has many barnes
 And therto lytyll brede!

I must go home, by your lefe, to gyll as I thocht, 395
 I pray you looke my slefe, that I steyll noght;
 I am loth you to grefe, or from you take oght.
ijus pastor: Go furth, yll myght thou chefe! now wold
 This morne [I we soght

That we had all oure store. 400
primus pastor: Bot I will go before,
 let vs mete.

ijus pastor: whore?

ijus pastor: At the crokyd thorne.

[Scene 4]

Mak:

Vndo thisdoore! who is here? howlong shall I stand?

Vxor eius:

405 Who makys sich a bere? now walk in the Wenyand.

Mak: A, gyll, what chere? it is I, mak, youre husbande.*Vxor*: Then may we be here the dewill in a bande,

Syr gyle,

lo, he commys with a lote

410 As he were holden in the throte.

I may not syt at my note

A hand-lang while.

Mak: wyll ye here what fare she makys to gett hir a glose?

and dos noght bot lakys, and clowse hir toose.

415 *Vxor*: why, who wanders? who wakys? who commys?

who gose?

who brewys? who bakys? what makys me thus hose?

And than

It is rewthe to beholde,

Now in hote, now in colde,

420 ffull wofull is the householde

That wantys a woman.

[43 a] Bot what ende has thou mayde with the hyrdys, mak?

Mak: The last worde that thay sayde when I turnyd

my bak,

Thay wold looke that thay hade thare shepe all

the pak.

425 I hope thay wyll nott be well payde when thay

thare shepe lak,

Perde!

Bot how so the gam gose,

To me thay wyll suppose,

And make a fowll noyse,

430 And cry outt apon me.

Bot thou must do as thou hyght.

Vxor: I accorde me thertyll.

I shall swedyll hym right In my credyll,
If it were a gretter slyght yit couthe I help tyll.
I wyll lyg downe stright, com hap me.

Mak: I wyll.

Vxor: Behynde.

435

Com coll and his maroo,
Thay will nyp vs full naroo.

Mak: Bot I may cry out 'haroo,'
The shepe if thay fynde.

Vxor: harken ay when thay call, thay will com onone. 440

Com and make redy all and syng by thyn oone;
Syng lullay thou shall, for I must grone
And cry outt by the wall on mary and Iohn,
ffor sore.

Syng lullay on fast

445

when thou heris at the last,
And bot I play a fals cast
Trust me no more.

[Scene 5]

Tercius pastor:

A, coll, goode morne, why slepys thou nott?

primus pastor:

Alas, that euer was I borne! we haue a fowll blott, 450
A fat wedir haue we lorne.

Tercius pastor: mary, godys forbott!

ijus pastor:

who shuld do vs that skorne? that were a fowll spott.

primus pastor: Som shrewe.

I haue soght with my dogys
All horbery shrogys,

455

And of fefteyn hogys
ffond I bot oone ewe.

iius pastor:

Now trow me, if ye will, by sant thomas of kent,
Ayther mak or gyll was at that assent.

primus pastor:

460 peasse, man, be still! I sagh when he went,
Thou sklanders hym yll, thou aght to repent
Goode spede.

ijus pastor: Now as euer myght I the,
If I shuld euyne here de,

465 I wold say it were he
That dyd that same dede.

iius pastor:

Go we theder, I rede, and ryn on oure feete.
Shall I neuer ete brede the sothe to I w[ee]te.

primus pastor:

Nor drynk in my heede with hym tyll I mete.

Secundus pastor:

[43b] I wyll rest in no stede tyll that I hym grete,
471 My brothere.

Oone I will hight:

Tyll I se hym in sight

shall I neuer slepe one nyght

475 Ther I do anothere.

[Scene 6]

Tercius pastor:

will ye here how thay hak? oure syre, lyst, croyne.

primus pastor:

hard I neuer none crak so clere out of toyne.

Call on hym.

ijus pastor: mak! vndo youre doore soyne!

Mak: Who is that spak, as it were noyne,
On loft?

480

Who is that I say?

iius pastor: Goode felowse, were it day.

Mak: As far as ye may,
Good, spekys soft

Ouer a seke womans hede, that is at mayll easse; 485

I had leuer be dede or she had any dyseasse.

Vxor:

Go to an othere stede, I may not well qweasse.

Ich fote that ye trede goys thorow my nese

So hee.

primus pastor: Tell vs, mak, if ye may,
how fare ye, I say?

490

Mak: Bot ar ye in this towne to day?

Now how fare ye?

ye haue ryn in the myre, and ar weytt yit;

I shall make you a fyre if ye will syt.

495

A nores wold I hyre, my dreame this is itt,

A seson.

I haue barnes, if ye knewe,

well mo then enewe;

500

Bot we must drynk as we brew,

And that is bot reson.

I wold ye dynyd or ye yode, me thynk that ye swette.

Secundus pastor:

Nay, nawther mendys oure mode drynke nor mette.

Mak: why, sir, alys you oght bot goode?

Tercius pastor: yee, oure shepe that we gett 505

Ar stolllyn as thay yode,— oure los is gette.

Mak: Syrs, drynkys!

had I bene thore

Som shuld haue boght it full sore.

510 *primus pastor*: Mary, som men trowes that ye wore,
And that vs forthynkys.

ijus pastor:

Mak, som men trowys that it shuld be ye.

iius pastor: Ayther ye or youre spouse, so say we.

Mak: Now if ye haue suspowse to gill or to me,

515 Com and rype oure howse, and then may ye se
who had hir,

If I any shepe fott,

Aythor cow or stott;.

And gyll, my wyfe, rose nott

520 here syn she lade hir.

[44a] As I am true and lele to god here I pray
That this be the fyrst mele that I shall ete this day.

primus pastor: Mak, as haue I ceyll, Avyse the, I say;
he lernyd tymely to steyll that couth not say nay.

525 *Vxor*: I swelt!

Outt, thefys, fro my wonys!

ye com to rob vs, for the nonys.

Mak: here ye not how she gronys?
youre hartys shuld melt.

530 *Vxor*: Outt, thefys, fro my barne! negh hym not thor!

Mak: wyst ye how she had farne youre hartys wold
be sore.

ye do wrang, I you warne, that thus commys before
To a woman that has farne,— bqt I say no more.

Vxor: A, my medyll!

535 I pray to god so mylde,
If euer I you begyld
That I ete this chylde
That lygys in this credyll.

Mak: peasse, woman, for goddys payn, and cry not so!

Thou spylls thy brane and makys me full wo. 540

Secundus pastor:

I trow oure shepe be slayn, what fynde ye two?

ijus pastor: All wyrk we in vayn, as well may we go.

Bot hatters!

I can fynde no flesh,

hard nor nesh,

545

Salt nor fresh,

Bot two tome platers.

Whik catell bot this, tame nor wyld,

None, as haue I blys, as lowde as he smylde.

Vxor: No, so god me blys, and gyf me Ioy of my 550
chylde!

primus pastor: We haue merkyd amys, I hold vs begyld.

ijus pastor: Syr, don!

Syr, oure lady hym saue!

Is youre chyld a knaue?

Mak: Any lord myght hym haue

555

This chyld to his son.

when he wakyns he kyppys that ioy is to se.

ijus pastor: In good tyme to hys hyppys, and in cele.

Bot who was his gossyppys, so sone rede?

Mak: So fare fall thare lyppys!

primus pastor: hark now, a le! 560

Mak: So god thaym thank,

Parkyn, and gybon waller, I say,

[44b]

And gentill Iohn horne, in good fay,

he made all the garray

With the greatt shank.

565

ijus pastor:

Mak, freyndys will we be, ffor we ar all oone.

Mak: we! now I hald for me, for mendys gett I none!

ffare well all thre, all glad were ye gone

ijus pastor:

ffare wordys may ther be, bot luf is ther none

570 this yere.

primus pastor: Gaf ye the chyld any thyng?

ijus pastor: I trow not oone farthyng!

ijus pastor: ffast agane will I flyng,

Abyde ye me there.

575 Mak, take it to no grefe if I com to thi barne.

Mak: Nay, thou dos me greatt reprefe and fowll has
thou farne.

ijus pastor:

The child will it not grefe, that lytyll day starne.

Mak, with youre leyfe let me gyf youre barne

Bot sex pence.

580 *Mak*: Nay, do way, he slepys.

ijus pastor: me thynk he pepys.

Mak: when he wakyns he wepys.

I pray you go hense.

ijus pastor:

Gyf me lefe hym to kys and lyft vp the clowtt.

[*He sees the sheep.*]

585 what the dewill is this? he has a long snowte.

primus pastor: he is merkyd amys, we wate ill abowte.

ijus pastor: Ill-spon weft, lwys, ay commys foull owte.

Ay, so!

he is lyke to oure shepe!

590 *ijus pastor*: how, gyb, may I pepe?

primus pastor: I trow kynde will crepe
where it may not go.

ijus pastor: This was a qwantt gawde and a far cast.

It was a hee frawde.

ijus pastor: yee, syrs, wast.
 lett bren this bawde and bynd hir fast. 595
 A fals skawde hang at the last,
 So shall thou.
 wyll ye se how thay swedyll
 his foure feytt in the medyll?
 Sagh I neuer in a credyll 600
 a hornyd lad or now.

Mak: Peasse byd I! what! lett be youre fare! [45a]
 I am he that hym gatt and yond woman hym bare.

primus pastor:
 What dewill shall he hatt, Mak? lo, god! makys ayre!
ijus pastor: lett be all that, now god gyf hym care 605
 I sagh.

Vxor: A pratty child is he
 As syttys on a wamans kne,
 A dyllydowne, perde,
 To gar a man laghe. 610

ijus pastor:
 I know hym by the eere-marke, that is a good tokyn.

Mak: I tell you, syrs, hark! hys noyse was brokyn.
 Sythen told me a clerk that he was forspokyn.

primus pastor:
 This is a fals wark, I wold fayn be wrokyn;
 Gett wepyn. 615

Vxor: he was takyn with an elfe,
 I saw it myself;
 when the klok stroke twelf
 was he forshapyn.

ijus pastor: ye two ar well feft sam in a stede. 620

ijus pastor:
 Syn thay manteyn thare theft, let do thaym to dede.

Mak: If I trespass eft, gyrd of my hede,
with you will I be left.

primus pastor: syrs, do my rede:

ffor this trespass

625 we will nawther ban ne flyte,
ffyght nor chyte,
Bot haue done as tyte,
And cast hym in canvas.

[They toss Mak in a sheet.]

lord! what I am sore in poynte for to bryst.
630 In fayth I may no more, therfor wyll I ryst.

ijus pastor:

As a shepe of sevyn skore he weyd in my fyst.
ffor to slepe ay-whore me thynk that I lyst.

[Scene 7]

iijus pastor: Now I pray you
lyg downe on this grene.

⁶³⁵ *primus pastor*: On these thefys yit I mene.

iijus pastor: wherto shuld ye tene
So, as I say you?

Angelus cantat "gloria in excelsis," postea dicat :

Angelus: Ryse, hyrd men heynd! for now is he borne
That shall take fro the feynd that adam had lorne,
640 That warloo to sheynd this nyght is he borne.
God is made youre freynd now at this morne.
he behestys
At bedlem go se,
Ther lygys that fre
645 In a cryb full poorely,
Betwyx two bestys.

after 628 stage-direction] so E, omit MS

631 sevyn] vij MS

primus pastor:

[45 b]

This was a qwant stevyn that euer yit I hard.
It is a meruell to neuyn thus to be skard.

ijus pastor: Of godys son of heuyn he spak vpward.

All the wod on a leuyn me thoght that he gard ⁶⁵⁰
Appere.

ijus pastor: he spake of a barne
In bedlem, I you warne.

primus pastor: That betokyns yond starne;
let vs seke hym there. 655

ijus pastor:

Say, what was his song? hard ye not how he crakyd it,
Thre brefes to a long?

ijus pastor: yee, mary, he hakt it.
was no crochett wrong nor no thyng that lakt it.

primus pastor:

ffor to syng vs emong right as he knakt it
I can. 660

ijus pastor: let se how ye croyne.

Can ye bark at the mone?

ijus pastor: hold youre tonges, haue done!

primus pastor: hark after, than!

ijus pastor: To bedlem he bad that we shuld gang, ⁶⁶⁵
I am full fard that we tary to lang.

ijus pastor:

Be mery and not sad, of myrth is oure sang,
Euer lastyng glad to mede may we fang,
Withouthe noyse. 670

primus pastor: hy we theder for-thy.

If we be wete and wery,
To that chyld and that lady
we haue it not to lose.

647 a qwant] the qwantst K
with 649 b, but corrected in MS
suggests this emendation.

647 b] originally confused
661 crone] croyne MS, E

ijus pastor:

we fynde by the prophecy— let be youre dyn—
 675 Of dauid and Isay and mo then I myn,
 Thay prophecyed by clergy that in a vyrgyn
 shuld he lyght and ly, to slokyn oure syn
 And slake it.
 Oure kynde from wo,
 680 ffor Isay sayd so,
 [Ecce] virgo
 Concipiet a chylde that is nakyd.

iiij pastor: ffull glad may we be, and abyde that day,
 That luffly to se, that all myghtys may.

685 lord, well were me for ones and for aye
 Myght I knele on my kne som word for to say
 To that chylde.
 Bot the angell sayd
 In a cryb was he layde,
 690 he was poorly arayd
 Both mener and mylde.

primus pastor:

patryarkes that has bene and prophetys beforne,
 Thay desyryd to haue sene this chylde that is borne.
 Thay ar gone full clene; that haue thay lorne.
 [46a] We shall se hym, I weyn, or it be morne,
 696 To tokyn.
 When I se hym and fele,
 Then wote I full weyll
 It is true as steyll,
 700 That prophetys haue spokyn

To so poore as we ar, that he wold appere,
 ffyrst fynd, and declare by his messyngere.

ijus pastor: Go we now, let vs fare, the place is vs nere.

ijus pastor: I am redy and yare, go we in fere

To that bright.

705

Lord, if thi wylls be,

we ar lewde all thre,

Thou grauntt vs somkyns gle

To comforth thi wight.

[Scene 8]

primus pastor:

hayll, comly and clene! hayll, yong child!

710

hayll, maker, as I meyne, of a madyn so mylde!

Thou has waryd, I weyne, the warlo so wylde;

The fals gyler of teyn now goys he begylde.

lo, he merys!

lo, he laghys, my swetyng!

715

A welfare metyng,

I haue holden my hetyng;

haue a bob of cherys.

ijus pastor:

hayll, sufferan sauyoure! ffor thou has vs soght,

hayll, frely foyde and floure, that all thyng has
wroght!

720

hayll full of fauoure, that made all of noght!

hayll! I kneyll and I cowre. A byrd haue I broght

To my barne.

hayll, lytyll tyné mop!

of oure crede thou art crop.

725

I wold drynk on thy cop,

Lytyll day starne.

ijus pastor: hayll, derlyng dere, full of godhede!

I pray the be nere when that I haue nede.

730 hayll, swete is thy chere! my hart wold blede
To se the sytt here in so poore wede,

With no pennys.

hayll! put forth thy dall!

I bryng the bot a ball,

735 haue and play the with all,

And go to the tenys.

Maria: The fader of heuen, god omnypotent,
That sett all on seuen, his son has he sent.

My name couth he neuen and lyght or he went.

740 I conceyuyd hym full euen through myght as he
ment,

And now is he borne.

he kepe you fro wo!

I shall pray hym so,

Tell furth as ye go,

745 And myn on this morne.

[46b] *primus pastor*: ffarewell, lady, so fare to beholde,
with thy childe on thi kne!

ijus pastor: hot he lygys full cold.

lord, well is me; now we go, thou behold.

ijus pastor: thor sothe all redy! it semys to be told

750 full oft.

primus pastor: what grace we haue fun!

ijus pastor: Com furth, now ar we won!

ijus pastor: To syng ar we bun,

let take on loft.

Explicit pagina Pastorum.

'NOTES



CHESTER NATIVITY (I)

In the *Banes before the Chester Plays*, in MS. H, there is the following stanza (15) on this play:

of Octavien the Emperour that could not well Alowe
the prophesye of Auncient Sibell, the sage,
you wrightes and sklaters, with good players in showe,
lustlye bringe forth your well-decked carriage;
the beirth of Christe shall all see in that stage.
yf the scriptures a-warrant not of the mydwyfys reporte,
the Authour telleth his Authour, then take it in sporte!

1-112. This play of the Annunciation and Visitation follows very closely the Scriptural account in Luke 1: see notes following. The only extant liturgical play of the Annunciation follows Luke quite as closely, so that it is impossible to be sure whether this is a translation from Luke or from a liturgical drama (see, however, Introduction, p. xiii).

1-4. Translation of *Pseudo-Matt.* 9: 'Ave Maria! gratia plena! Dominus tecum! Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui!' This is a combination of Luke 1. 28 and 42, the salutations of Gabriel and Elizabeth. The Church has followed this version in the canticle Ave Maria. See Introduction, p. xiii, and note on C. III, 165-169.

4. MS. H, in the margin, inserts the parallel Scriptural account from Luke: 'In mense autem sexto missus est angelus Gabriel a Deo in civitatem Galilææ. Lucæ I.' Hereafter such readings will be designated by (H).

8. 'Illa vero cum vidisset turbata est super oracionem eius, et cogitabat, qualis esset illa salutatio.' (H). Luke 1. 29.
this. Evidently an error, misspelling of *thus*.

9-16. 'Et ait angelus ei: Ne timeas, Maria, invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum; ecce concipies in utero, et paries filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum. Hic erit magnus et Filius Altissimi vocabitur.' Luke 1. 30-32, not quoted in H.

16. *gode*. This form is used for the genitive, *God's*, throughout this play in MS. D. See *kinge*, Ch. II, 479, and cf. *Fader* T. I, 102.

20. 'Et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris eius; et regnabit in domo Jacob in eternum.' (H). Luke 1. 32.

24. 'Et regni ejus non erit finis.' (H). Luke 1. 33. Cf. *Pseudo-Matt.* 9: 'qui imperet non solum in terra sed et in cælis, et regnabit in sæcula sæculorum.' Cf. also *De Nat. Mar.* 9: 'Hic erit magnus, quia dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terræ.'

26. 'Dixit Maria ad Angelum: Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco?' (H). Luke 1. 34.

32. 'Et respondens Angelus dixit ei: Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te; et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi; ideoque et quod nascetur ex te Sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei.' (H). Luke 1. 35.

36. 'Elizabeth, cognata tua, et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua.' (H). Luke 1. 36.

40. 'Et hic mensis sextus est illi quæ vocatur sterilis; quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum.' (H). Luke 1. 36-37.

48. 'Dixit Maria: Ecce ancilla Domini! fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.' (H). Luke 1. 38.

after 48, stage-direction. 'Et discessit ab illa Angelus. Exsurgens autem Maria ... abiit in montana ... et intravit in domum ... et salutavit Elizabeth.' Luke 1. 38-40. Cf. *Protev.* 12: 'And Mary was glad, and went unto her cousin Elizabeth.' The other Apocryphal Gospels do not mention the Visitation.

49. 'Audivit salutationem Mariæ Elizabeth.' Luke 1. 41. In *Protev.* Mary simply knocks at the door.

52. 'Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui.' (H). Luke 1. 42. Cf. note on ll. 1-4.

56. 'Unde hoc mihi, ut veniat mater Domini mei ad me?' (H). Luke 1. 43.

60. 'Ecce enim, ut facta est vox salutationis tuæ in auri-
bus meis, exultavit præ gaudio infans in utero meo.' (H).
Luke 1. 44.

61-64. 'Et beata quæ credidisti, quoniam perficientur ea,
quæ dicta sunt tibi a Domino.' Luke 1. 45.

69-70. Luke 1. 46.

before 73. This is the only one of the Scriptural parallels that appears in D.

76. 'Et respexit ad humilitatem Ancillæ suæ.' (H). Luke 1. 48.

78. 'Et sanctum nomen eius.' (H). Luke 1. 49.

84. 'Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicant omnes generationes, Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est.' (H). Luke 1. 48-49.

89-92. 'Et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum.' Luke 1. 50.

96. 'prestetit robor per brachium suum, dispersit superbos cogitatione cordis ipsorum.' (H). Luke 1. 51.

100. 'Detraxit potentes de sedibus et erexit humiles. Esurientes implevit bonis.' (H). Luke 1. 52-53.

104. 'Et divites dimisit inanes. Suscepit Israël puerum suum, ut memor esset misericordiæ.' (H). Luke 1. 53-54.

108. 'Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham et semen eius in eterno: Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.' (H). Luke 1. 55.

112. 'Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum, Amen.' (H). Here the author has been following the Church version of the Magnificat instead of that found in the Gospel of Luke; it is therefore possible that this has all come from some liturgical drama. See note on ll. 1-112.

113-122. This passage has no parallel in the Bible or Apocryphal Gospels. It is merely inserted as a link between the Visitation and Joseph's Trouble. In C. and T. the Joseph play comes before the Visitation. The author shows a sense of form, if he is following Luke, in not going on to describe the birth of the Baptist.

116. 'Mansit autem Maria cum illa circiter mensibus tribus, et reversa est in domum suam.' (H). Luke 1. 56. The first part of the verse does not seem to apply here.

123-176. The only reference in the Bible to Joseph's trouble is in Matt. 1. 18-20: 'Cum esset desponsata mater ejus Maria Joseph, antequam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu Sancto. Joseph autem, vir ejus, cum esset justus et nollet eam traducere, voluit occulte dimittere eam. Hæc autem eo cogitante, ecce! Angelus Domini apparuit, &c.' The author of the Chester plays seems to have followed

this account alone, expanding it considerably, but not using the more elaborate Apocryphal accounts which form the basis of the Coventry, York, and Towneley Joseph plays. These introduce the virgin companions of Mary, and a long dispute between Mary and Joseph and the maidens concerning the paternity of the child. We do find, however, in this play reminiscences of the Apocryphal account of the marriage of Joseph and Mary, in those lines where Joseph urges the unsuitability of an old man's marrying a maiden. In *Protev.* 9 Joseph says: 'Let us not become ridiculous to the children of Israel. I have sons, and am old; she is but a girl.' All the rest, however, is merely the expansion of the idea of Joseph's just nature, as we find it in Matt. 1. Cf. C. II, 25 ff., and note; Y. II, 92 ff.

128. H quotes Matt. 1. 18; see note on ll. 123-176.

129. The author again follows the Scriptural instead of the Apocryphal account; cf. note on l. 116. *Pseudo-Matt.* 10: 'ubi moratus est [i. e. Joseph in Capernaum] mensibus novem.' *Protev.* 13: 'And her sixth month came and Joseph returned.'

132. H, without any reason, inserts here Matt. 1. 19, first part.

136. H inserts Matt. 1. 19, last part.

145-152. A common theme in Y. and T.

152. H quotes Matt. 1. 20; see note on ll. 123-176.

164. 'Joseph, fili dauid, ne metuas adjungere Mariam uxorem tuam; nam quod in illa conceptus est.' (H). Matt. 1, 20.

168. 'a spiritu sancto profectum est.' (H). Matt. 1. 20. The reference to the fulfillment of prophecy is evidence that the Scriptural and not the Apocryphal account is the basis of this play, for in Matthew the angel says that Christ shall be born to fulfill prophecy, and the Apocryphal Gospels, which follow Matt. 1. closely up to this point, make no mention of prophecies.

178-179. The popular mediæval legends of Octavian and the Sibyl are fully discussed in Piper, *Mythologie der Christlichen Kunst*, 1. 472-507. In their earliest form the Sibyl was priestess of Apollo. The earliest extant version is by Malalas (7th cent.), to be found in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 97. 357 (see note on ll. 348 ff.). Next in order chronologically is Suidas (fl. 950),

who discusses it in his *Lexicon* under the title *Augustus*; then comes a version by Cedrenus (circ. 1100): Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 121. 357; and finally a version by Nicephorus Callistus (circ. 1350): Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 145. 681. See following notes.

185 ff. This boastful speech of Octavian's is merely one of the popular "Herod speeches" put into his mouth. It would be profitless to record the many parallels; I refer the reader to the following plays: Ch. 8, 157-204; 10, 1-20; C. 17, 1-16; Y. 16, 1-22; T. 14, 1-48.

188. 'Lucae Cap. 2. Exit dictum e Cesare Augusto ut censeretur totus orbis' (H).

199 f. Cf. Ch. 10, (*Innocents Play*) 5-6:

Herode: Say no man any thing is his,
but onely at my device.

201-208. Cf. note on ll. 304-375; Martinus: 'tantæ prosperitatis et pacis quod totum mundum sibi tributarium fecerat.'

209-224. This speech in Old French is introduced to give local color, French being still the language of the English court; see Introduction, p. xxvi. The many scribes, through whose hands the text has passed in the 250 years between its composition and the earliest extant manuscript, have left little that is intelligible. Professor Henry R. Lang of Yale University has kindly verified my belief that in general the text is so corrupt as to defy interpretation. The first stanza is the only one that is really intelligible, although the general meaning of the others may be grasped. Octavian begins by saying: 'Lords, all assembled, from my own estates, I can cause you to be tearful or joyful, and put you in grief.' Notice that the last line is in Italian, because a rime for *Emperoure* is necessary. He then apparently goes on to warn them not to oppose him in any way, for he is a powerful, rich, and wise emperor, and there is none like unto him.

For other speeches in French, all by kings and governors, see Ch. 8, 65-72, 145-152; 16 (p. 39 of Pt. 2. in Wright's edition), and 19 (2. 84).

225-247. These lines are largely a repetition of Octavian's opening speech.

229. Cf. T. 9 (*Cæsar Augustus*), 1-3.

Be styll, beshers; I commawnd yow
That no man speke a word here now
But I myself alon.

232 ff. Cf. T. 9, 13 ff.

ffor all is myn that up standys,
Castels, towers, townys, and landys;
To me homage thay bringe.

232-239. Cf. ll. 189-196.

240-245. Cf. ll. 201-208.

252 ff. Cf. note to 188. These 'Herodian' speeches are entirely opposed to Augustus' traditionally modest character, which rather inconsistently appears a little later in the play.

258-261. The common belief in the Middle Ages that Jerusalem was at the middle of the world, 'the mediæval Greenwich,' is based on Ezek. 5. 5: 'Thus saith the Lord God: This is Jerusalem. I have set it in the midst of the nations.' The idea is familiar to Dante, who places the mountain of Purgatory at the antipodes of Jerusalem. Cf. Dante, *Purg.* 2. 1-6; *Inf.* 34. 116.

281. The 'boy' swears by Mohammed some 600 years before that prophet was born. 'After the wars with the Saracens,' says Wright, 'this became a common name in W. Europe for any idol or false god.' It is a favorite oath of Herod's in all the cycles.

286. I have emended *Boughton* to read *Broughton*, as the latter was a suburb of Chester, according to *Magna Britannia, Antiqua et Nova*, London, 1720. I do not feel sure, however, that this emendation should stand, for there is an old Lancashire proverb about Oldham rough-heads, *Boughton trotters*, and Heywood monkeys. Heywood and Oldham are near together in S. E. Lancashire, but Boughton I have been unable to discover. The fact that the author of Ch. II shows himself familiar with Lancashire (see notes on Ch. II, 117 and 120) adds weight to the theory that a Lancashire town is referred to.

304-375. This legend is taken from Martinus Polonus, a Dominican of the 13th century, also quoted by Higden in

the *Polychronicon* as his authority for the same tale. The fact that Martinus is quoted by at least a contemporary of the author of our play, and that his version is the closest to ours of all the many mediæval versions, is very strong evidence as to our source. Martinus writes in his *Supputationes* under *De Octaviano Imperatore*: 'Hunc populi Romani videntes esse tantæ pulchritudinis quod nemo in oculis eius intueri poterat, et tantæ prosperitatis et pacis quod totum mundum sibi tributarium fecerat, dicebant ei: Te volumus adorare, quia Deus est in te; si hic non esset, non tibi omnia tam prospere succederent. Quia renuens, inducias postulavit, et ad se Sibyllam Tiburtinam sapientem vocavit: cui quod Senatores sibi dixerant, recitavit. Quæ spatium trium dierum petiit in quibus arctum ieiunium operata est. Post tertium diem respondit Imperatori hoc modo:

Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet.

E cœlo Rex adveniet qui per secula futurus est

et cetera quæ sequuntur.' For the rest of Martinus' account see note on Ch. I, 646–701. The lapse of three days does not occur in the play, but there is an intermission in the Octavian story from l. 375–l. 646, where the play again follows Martinus.

Martinus seems to draw his material, sometimes verbatim, from the *Mirabilia Romæ* (ed. Parthey, § 37), written in the 12th century. This also contains an account similar to that in ll. 575–620; see note.

313. In the Old French *Mistère du Viel Testament*, ed. *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, vol. 6, pp. 180 ff. (abbreviated hereafter as V. T.) in discussing affairs of state, the Provost suggests to Augustus that a statue of him should be erected in Rome, to be worshiped. Augustus offers no objection. After the statue is made, however, he consults with the Sibyl as to whether it should be worshiped.

330–331. As a matter of fact, Augustus was at this time 63 years old.

340. In the early versions Octavian does not ask the oracle if he shall be deified (cf. note on ll. 348 ff.). This

was a later interpretation of the story, due probably to the confusion among churchmen of the terms *dominus* and *deus*. The ultimate source of the legend is doubtless in the prohibition issued by Augustus against applying to him the title *dominum*; cf. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, § 53: 'Domini appellationem ut maledictum et opprobrium exhorruit. Cum spectante eo ludos, pronuntiatum esset in mimo, "O dominum æquum et bonum," et universi quasi de ipso dictum exultantes comprobassent, statim manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit.' Even so late as Innocent III (cf. note on ll. 647-701) we find it a question of *dominum*, not *deum*. Peter Comestor, however, writes in 1178: 'Cæsar præceperat ne quis eum divum vocaret' (*Hist. Evang.* 5.), and in the *Mirabilia Romæ* of the 12th century (see note on ll. 304 ff.), and the *Golden Legend*, we find *deum*, and not *dominum*. The *Golden Legend*, however, quotes Innocent as its source, showing the interpretation of *dominum* as *deum*.

For the introduction of the Sibyl into the V. T., see note on l. 640.

348. Which Sibyl this is is not specified. Martinus calls her the Tiburtine Sibyl, but puts in her mouth the prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl; its omission here is significant (cf. T. I, 50, and note). The V. T. calls her the Tiburtine Sibyl, and gives her a prophecy similar to the one here. Originally she was the Delphic Sibyl (see note following). Higden follows Martinus.

348 ff. Notice that Augustus does not ask the Sibyl whether he should be deified, but whether there shall ever be a greater king than he. This takes us back to the earliest form of the legend, found in Malalas' *Chronographia* of the 7th century, written in Greek (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 97. 357). He writes: 'Augustus Cæsar in the fifth year of his reign, in the month of October, . . . went to consult the oracle, and, after sacrificing a hecatomb, inquired: "Who after me shall rule over the Roman state?" but there was no answer from the Pythian priestess. And again he sacrificed, and inquired why he received no answer, and why the oracle was silent. Then at length he received this response:

A Hebrew boy, God of the blessed Gods,
Orders me to depart hence, and to return to Hades.
Depart thou therefore from our altars.'

The same account is given by Suidas (see note on ll. 178–179), and a similar one by Cedrenus; Nicephorus Callistus quotes Malalas.

In the V. T. after the statue has been made (cf. note on l. 313), Augustus consults the Sibyl as to whether he should be worshiped, and she replies (ll. 48944 ff.):

Ce seroit grant derision,
Et cogiter peux en ton cuer
Qu'il est ung seul dominateur,
Qui descendra d'une pucelle, etc.

349. V. T., ll. 48411 ff.:

Octavien: Si je ne puis pas bien congnoistre
Que une femme fut tant prudente,
Si experte, ne si sciente
De ce faire.

352–375. This prophecy is evidently not taken from the Erythrean Sibyl prophecy, as quoted in Martinus. There is nothing very distinctive about it, and it is probably original, substituted for Martinus' version, perhaps because the author wished to avoid the difficult task of translating into English acrostics; see Introduction, p. xxii.

In the V. T. the Sibyl is more accurately informed. When she first appears she is praying to "Dieu en trinité," and she tells the two courtiers who overhear her that it is sinful to worship Venus and Mercury, and that God is about to be born of a virgin.

358. V. T., ll. 49032–3:

Octavien: Ne sçait on point quant ce sera?
Sibille: Nenny, le terme est incertain.

392–409. A similar complaint to that of the Towneley shepherds; cf. T. IV, 12–36.

427. 'Ascendit autem et Ioseph a Galilea de civitate Nazareth in Judeam in civitatem David, que vocatur Bethlem.' (H). Luke 2. 4.

432-455. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: 'Cum ergo Ioseph et Maria irent per viam quæ ducit Bethleem, dixit Maria ad Ioseph: Duos populos video ante me, unum flentem et alium gaudentem . . . Tunc apparuit puer speciosus . . . et dixit: . . . Populum enim Iudæorum flentem vidit, quia recessit a deo suo, et populum gentium gaudentem, quia accessit et prope factus est ad dominum, secundum quod promisit patribus . . .' Cf. also *Protev.* 17.

456-463. Apparently based entirely on the clause in Luke 2. 7: 'quia non erat locus in diversorio.' The accounts in the Apocryphal Gospels are quite different. In both *Pseudo-Matt.* and *Protev.* they stop on the road outside of Bethleem, because Mary's time has come; the stable is merely a cave by the roadside. The influence of the liturgical drama probably survives here; for in mediæval painting the scene is often a cave (cf. Giotto's fresco of the Nativity, in Padua).

464-468. *Protev.* 17: 'And Mary said, "Take me down from the ass, for my burden urgeth me to be delivered." And he took her down.'

473. *Protev.* 19: 'And I saw a woman coming— . . . and I said, "I am seeking a Hebrew midwife."' *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: 'Iam enim dudum Ioseph perrexerat ad quærendas obstetrices.'

504 ff. In the Apocryphal Gospels, as in C., the child is born while Joseph is seeking midwives. In the Old French *Miracle de la Nativité*, ed. G. Paris in *Miracles de Nostre Dame* vol. 1 (abbreviated hereafter as *Mir. d. l. Nat.*), Zebel, the midwife, guides them to the stable, and is present at the birth.

528-566. The account of the midwives in this play is not nearly so close to the Apocryphal Gospels as is C. IV, 217-308; see notes on those lines. There is no particular reason for assuming that the author of Ch. followed any one of the Apocryphal accounts instead of another, whereas C. clearly follows *Pseudo-Matt.* It is quite possible that Ch. follows the lost Apocryphal *Gospel of Bartholomew*; see note on Ch. I, 568.

528. I am not able to account for the name Tebell, except by supposing that this, too, comes from the lost *Gospel of Bartholomew*; see preceding note. In *Pseudo-Matt.* and in

the *Protev.*, the name is Zelomi, as it is in C. Zebel appears in the *Golden Legend* and in the Old French *Mistère de la Nativité*, ed. Jubinal, *Mystères Inédits du XV siècle*, vol. 2 (abbreviated hereafter as *Myst. d. l. Nat.*). Tebel appears in an early Middle English poem on the Nativity, published in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, ed. 1875, l. 618.

568. Probably referring to the (now lost) Apocryphal *Gospel of St. Bartholomew*, which is mentioned by Jerome (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 26. 17) and Gelasius (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 59. 162). The *Golden Legend* (chap. 5) refers twice to *frater Bartholomæus*: Abbé Roze in his edition interprets the first reference as referring to the Saint, and the second as referring to Bartholomew of Sion. As the reference here is to the miracle wrought on Salome, mentioned in both *Pseudo-Matt.* and *Protev.*, it seems probable that it is the lost Gospel that is referred to.

575–620. The earliest extant description of this temple is by the Greek Cosmas in the 8th century; see Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* 2. 2. 221: 'They say the Capitol at Rome is a building great in extent, having in it many images, and each image is for a sign. For each image has a bell hanging from its hand, and there is an image for every tribe, and they say that when any nation is unfriendly its image gives the sign with its bell.'

Another early account, falsely ascribed to Bede, the author and date of which is unknown, adds the fact that each image had the name of its nation inscribed on its breast (Giles, *Works of Bede* 4. 10). Other mediæval accounts are contained in a Wessobrunn MS. of the 8th century (Massmann, *Kaiserchronik* 3. 426). A mention of it is made by an anonymous writer of Salerno in the 10th century (Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* 2. 2. 72), and in an 11th century Vatican MS. (Græsse, *Beiträge zur Lit. und Sage des Mittelalters*, p. 10).

One of the fullest accounts, and to us the most important, as the probable source of this play, is by the Englishman Alexander Neckam (born 1158), in his *De Naturis Rerum*, chap. 174, where he relates one of the mediæval Virgil myths: 'Romæ item construxit nobile palatium, in quo cujuslibet

regionis imago lignea campanam manu tenebat. Quotiens vero aliqua regio majestati Romani imperii insidias moliri ausa est, incontinenti proditricis icona campanulam pulsare cœpit. Miles vero aeneus, equo insidiens aeneo, in summitate fastigii prædicti palatii hastam vibrans, in illam se vertit partem quæ regionem illam respiciebat. Præparavit igitur expedite se felix embola Romana juvenus a senatoribus et patribus conscriptis in hostes imperii Romani directa, ut non solum fraudes præparatus declinaret, sed etiam in auctores temeritatis animadverteret. Quæsitus autem vates gloriosus, quamdiu a diis conservandum esset illud nobile ædificium, respondere consuevit: "Stabit usque dum virgo pariat." Hoc autem audientes philosopho applaudentes dicebant: "Igitur in æternum stabit." In nativitate autem Salvatoris, fertur dicta, domus inclita subitam fecisse ruina (sic).¹

In the *Mirabilia Romæ* a statue of the Persian kingdom in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, by ringing a bell, warns Agrippa of imminent war (ed. Parthey, § 40).

Comparetti, in his *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, gives a very full account of the development of this myth. There are one or two rather significant versions that he omits, however. One of these is the *Historia Septem Sapientium* (ed. Buchner, p. 42). In this account Virgil is again the artificer; the building, however, is no longer the Capitol, but a tower. In this account the image turns its face to the hostile province. Another exceedingly significant version, as suggestive of the origin of the myth, is given by Washington Irving in his *Alhambra*, in the *Legend of the Arabian Astrologer*. The presence of a bronze man on horseback, in this version, is striking. Another bit of evidence of Spanish or Moorish origin is found in a 16th century English romance on the life of Virgil. Here it is casually mentioned that he was educated at Toledo, and that while there he saw the devil, and made a bargain with him.

Higden, in the *Polychronicon* 3. 44, quotes Neckam as his source for the legend. Before finding this reference in Higden, I had decided that Neckam was the source of this version. Higden's quotation tends to confirm this decision; for it shows

at least that Neckam was known in Chester, and probably in the monastery where our author resided at the time when this play was written. See note on ll. 304-375.

585. Neckam omits the bells. The *Mirabilia* and pseudo-Bede describe the bells as hanging from the neck, as here. Cosmas has them hanging from the wrist. Cf. note on l. 587.

587. Pseudo-Bede is the only one that mentions the name inscribed on the breast. As this is probably an English production, it is quite possible that the author was acquainted with it, as well as with the Neckam version. Cf. note on l. 585.

620. The Temple of Peace is probably merely an appropriate name for such a temple as our author is describing, and he does not mean to refer to any particular temple. As we have seen, in all the early myths the temple is the Capitol, or Temple of Jupiter; in this play the 'God of Rome' is worshiped in it. It is barely possible that the author is referring to the Temple of Janus, whose gates were closed in time of peace and open in time of war. They were closed for the third time at the birth of Christ. Janus was peculiarly the 'God of Rome,' and at times was called *deus divom*, an appellation often applied to Jupiter, so that the two gods may have become confused. Moreover, according to the play the Roman youth are called to arms from the Temple of Peace, and according to Virgil (*Aeneid* 7. 607) the consul called to arms from the Temple of Janus.

Tunison, *Master Virgil*, suggests that the Theatre of Pompey, with its statues of all the conquered nations, may have suggested the so-called Temple of Peace.

Martinus (see note on ll. 304-375) refers to the Temple of Peace built by Vespasian! He also mentions a *Palatium Pacis*, built by Romulus, in which he placed a golden image of himself, which should stand until a virgin bore a child, and which fell when Christ was born.

This multitude of different temples is evidence enough of the confusion and inaccuracy of the mediæval knowledge of ancient Roman topography.

624. The devil is generally Virgil. In the *Golden Legend*, however, Apollo fills this role. St. Peter Damien writes of the Eternal Temple: 'ab omni illa deorum imo dæmoniorum multitudine quæsierunt usquoque durare posset'; see next note, and Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiii.

627-634. This is the commonest part of the legend. In the 11th century St. Peter Damien (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 144. 848) continues (see note on l. 624): 'Responsum est: "Donec Virgo pareret." Illi ad impossibilitatem oraculum retorquentes templum eternum . . . vocaverunt. Nocte eautem ista, cum de virginali thalamo virgineus flos Mariæ egressus est, ita cecidit et confractum est illud murale et columnatum opus, ut vix appareant vestigia ruinarum.'

Nicholas of Clairvaux, secretary to St. Bernard (fl. 1150), gives an identical account (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 184. 827).

Pope Innocent III (13th century) writes (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 217. 457): 'Templum Pacis funditus corrui. Romani siquidem pro pace perfecta . . . templum Pacis mirificum construxerant. De quo consulentes quamdiu deberet durare, responsum est: "Donec virgo pariat," qui gaudentes responderunt: "Ergo erit eternum, quia numquam virgo pariet." Sed perdidit Deus sapientiam sapientium . . . quoniam in hora Dominicæ nativitatis funditus corrui.'

The *Golden Legend* quotes Innocent.

Alexander Neckam is the first to combine the description of the temple with the legend of the fall of the temple of Peace.

Neckam's contemporary, Helinandus, makes an allegory of the legend in a Christmas sermon (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 212. 488). According to this sermon there was a triple disaster: the fall of the temple of Peace, of the palace of Romulus, and of a model of the city.

Higden, in the *Polychronicon*, quotes Peter Comestor as his authority for this legend: 'Templum Pacis corrui in Roma' (*Hist. Evang.* 5).

'The anonymous writer of Salerno, in his attempt to explain what happened to the temple's extraordinary collection of statues, invented or copied a story much more pic-

turesque than Neckam's. He declared that the statues had been carried to Byzantium in the tenth century. On account of their magical efficiency Emperor Alexander had them clothed in garments of silk, and became exceedingly proud of having despoiled the Romans of their chief protection. But one night St. Peter appeared to him saying, "I am king of the Romans," and the next day the Emperor died. (J. Tunison, *Master Virgil*, pp. 122-123.)

There is a similar legend concerning the fall of the idols in Egypt, when the infant Christ passed by, in fulfillment of the prophecy in *Isa.* 19, 1: 'Ecce Dominus ascendet super nubem levem, et movebuntur omnia simulacra Ægypti.' Cf. in Helinandus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 212. 488) the alliance of these two legends.

628-630. In the *Mist. d. l. Nat.*, p. 30, we find this inscription on a statue of Jupiter which Augustus goes to worship:

Dum virgo mater pariet
Ista ymago corruet.

633-634. In the *Mist. d. l. Nat.*, p. 69, the messenger returning from Judea finds the image of Jupiter fallen to the ground, and the inscription erased.

640. In the V. T., ll. 48385 ff., Octavien, in describing the death of Julius Cæsar, says:

on vit reluyre
Aprez sa mort au firmament
Trois soleiz
.
Ou est le clerc qui sache tant
Qu'il me seust par astrologie
Dire que cella signifie?

Cassius: Il y a une prophetice,
Sibile Tiburte nommée.

This appearance of three suns at the time of the death of Julius is first mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 2. 31). Dio Cassius (3d cent.), in his *Roman History* 47. 40, describes this appearance as occurring in 42 B. C. Eusebius of Cæsarea (4th cent.), is the first to describe the suns as coalescing. In the *Historica, Olymp.* 184, the year of Cæsar's death

(Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 19. 519), he writes: 'Romæ tres soles simul exorti paulatim in eundem orbem coierunt.' Julius Obsequens (late 4th cent.), in his *Prodigia*, chap. 128, gives a similar description. Plutarch, in his *Life of Cæsar*, merely mentions that at Cæsar's death comets and lights were seen.

There are many records of the appearance of three suns. Livy (28. 11. 3) tells of the occurrence of such a phenomenon at Alba in 206 B. C. Cicero (*Republic* 1. 10, 15) says: 'Neque enim leves neque pauci sunt qui se duo soles vidisse dicant.' Seneca (*Nat. Quæst.* 1. 11-12) gives the scientific name for such appearances; he says: 'Græci parhelia appellant.' A parhelion was seen at Branford, Conn., on March 20th, 1908.

The *Golden Legend* seems to be the only authority for the legend that three suns appeared at the time of Christ's birth. There the legend is attributed to St. John Chrysostom, but I have been unable to discover it in his extant writings.

643-644. See note on Y. III, 136-140.

645. One of these other miracles also was adapted for Christian purposes by the Church Fathers. Suetonius (ed. Reifferscheid, *Frag.* 223, p. 260) records that in 40 B. C. 'e taberna meritoria trans Tiberim oleum terra erupit &c.'

Eusebius adds (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 19. 522), 'significans Christi gratiam.' This legend is repeated, as occurring on the first Christmas, by St. Peter Damien, Orosius, Nicholas of Clairvaux, Innocent III, and in the *Golden Legend*. Higden also includes it in the *Polychronicon*.

647-701. Martinus' account (see note on ll. 304-375) continues as follows: 'Illico apertum est cælum, et nimis splendor irruit super eum; vidit in cælo quandam pulcherrimam virginem stantem super altare, puerum tenentem in brachiis. Et miratus est nimis et vocem dicentem audivit: "Hæc ara filii Dei est." Qui statim projiciens se in terram adoravit. Quam visionem Senatoribus retulit, et ipsi mirati sunt nimis.' This is taken almost wholly from the *Mirabilia*, § 37.

In Innocent III's *Sermo II in Nativitate Domini* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 217. 457) the same account of the vision is given, but the only result is the prohibition against being called *dominum*, 'quia natus est Rex regum et Dominus dominantium.'

The vision is also described in a poem written in 1324, *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, which follows Innocent closely. Petrarch refers to the vision in a letter to Pope Clement VI (see Piper, *Mythologie*, I. 482-483). Helinandus gives an allegorical interpretation of it (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 212. 489).

647. In the *Golden Legend* Sibyl first sees the vision, and calls the Emperor's attention to it (chap. 5), although this detail is not included in Innocent's sermon.

648. V. T., ll. 49045 ff.:

Sibille: Vella le ciel, regarde bien,
Et te agenoille, Octovien.
Oste ton chapeau par honneur
Devant le souveraine seigneur.

654 ff. V. T., stage-direction after l. 49052:

'Se desqueuvre Octovien et regarde au ciel; voit une grande clarté et est en l'er une Vierge tenant ung enfant entre ses bras.'

In the *Mist. d. l. Nat.*, Sibyl does not appear, but Cesar and Sartan (p. 70) 'voisent hors de leur eschaufault et regardent le ciel, et puis die ...

Cesar: Sartan, je voy la grant clarté
Ainssy comme Balaam le dist.
De ce ne veull pas contredire:
De moi est nez un plus grant sire.'

658 ff. V. T., ll. 49104 ff.:

Octavien: Le filz de Dieu triumphant
Je adore et veuil adorer,
.
Pour Dieu jamais ne me adorez.

After 669, stage-direction. Cf. note on l. 706.

694 ff. This element is found only in the *Mirabilia*, Martinus, and here. *Mirabilia*: 'hanc visionem retulit senatoribus, et ipsi mirati sunt nimis.' Cf. note on ll. 647-701.

706. After describing Augustus' consultation of the oracle (see note on ll. 348 ff.), Malalas proceeds: 'So Augustus Cæsar, departing from the oracle and coming to the Capitol, built a great altar on which was written in Roman script: "Hæc est ara Primogeniti Dei."'

708-709. Malalas continues: 'This altar is still to be seen in the Capitol.'

714-715. Martinus again quotes the *Mirabilia*: 'hæc visio fuit in camera Octaviani imperatoris, ubi nunc est ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ in Capitolio, ubi sunt fratres minores. Idcirco dicta est Sancta Maria in Ara cæli.' Higden quotes this in *Polychronicon* 4. 3.

Golden Legend (chap. 5): 'Therefore the Christian men made a church of the same chamber of the emperor, and named it Ara cæli.'

For an exceedingly clear and comprehensive account of the rise and developement of the Octavian-Sibyl myth in its general outline the reader is referred to Arturo Graf: *Roma nella Memoria e nelle Immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, Turin, 1882, pp. 308-333. For a legend similar to the Temple of Peace myth, and which is perhaps related to it, see the same book, pp. 118 ff. This tale would ally the Colosseum with the Temple of Peace.

Browning uses the Sibyl's prophecy in his poem, *Imperante Augusto Natus Est*—.

CHESTER SHEPHERDS' PLAY (II)

Stanza 16 of the *Banes before the Chester Plays*, in MS. H, is as follows:

The Appearinge Angell and starr upon Christes beirth
to Sheapeardes poore, of base and lowe degree,
you painters and glasiors, decke out with all meirth,
and see that "Gloria in excelsis" be songe merelye.
fewe wordes in that pageante makes meirth truely,
for all that the Author had to stande uppon,
was "glorye to god one heigh" and "peace one earth to man."

1-9. This theme of the discomforts of the shepherd's life, his exposure to storms, his weariness in walking, etc. is amplified in the *Towneley Plays*; cf. T. III, 1 ff., and note, IV, 1-15, 123-128.

5. The rivers Conway and Clwyd run north through the counties of Carnarvon and Denbigh in Wales, emptying into the Irish Sea. The Clwyd is about twenty miles west of Chester, and the Conway ten miles further west; cf. reference to the River Dee in l. 249.

10. The Suche, possibly the Sychnant or 'dry valley,' two miles west of Conway.

11-40. Cf. 73-80. These long descriptions of sheep's diseases, remedial herbs, etc. are unique in the Chester Play. There is a mere suggestion of them in T. III, 25-26.

37. *It had the thursse*. The thursse (= the devil, see Glossary) had it, or it was bewitched.

50-51. Set to sewing with a crow's feather for a needle—a proverb similar in significance to 'making bricks without straw.'

73-80. Cf. ll. 11-40, and note.

85-90. This henpecked husband motif is worked out in detail in T. IV, 236-252, 404-421.

101-136. Cf. T. III, 208-240.

115. Blaken Hall, a village on the River Dee, a few miles northwest of Chester. See map of Cheshire in *Magna Britannia*, London 1720.

117. Probably the Halton in Lancashire (cf. l. 120). There is, however, a town of Alton in the Midlands, near Burton on Trent; Burton was famous for its ale in the 13th century, according to William of Malmesbury. We know nothing of ale-brewing in either Halton or Alton.

120. Lancaster or Lancashire is the county just north of Chester. The dish and the name 'jannock' seem to have originated there. One of the few facts we know of Ranulf Higden's life is that he traveled in Lancashire; see note on l. 117.

143-148. The bottle after the meal is also a feature in T. III, 242-262.

165 ff. This speech of Trowle's is very similar in character to that of the third shepherd in T. IV, 154–171. First comes a complaint of lacking all the necessities of life, and of being generally abused by his masters, and finally a rather impudent assertion of independence.

249. The River Dee flows in an easterly direction, just south of the source of the River Clwyd (see note on l. 5), then turns north, and flowing through Chester empties into the Irish Sea.

276. *Bovearte*. Meaning obscure; possibly related to the *bovate* (Lat. *bos*, *bovis*; cf. reading in H), an allotment of land in early English communities, the holder of which had to furnish one ox for the plough-team of eight oxen. Hence *bovate* became the word for the amount of land one ox could plough in one year.

300. Cf. Ch. II, 452, 461; Y. IV, 81; T. III, 321, IV, 654. The appearance of the star is borrowed from the Magi story. The liturgical drama of the *Stella* became the most popular of the Christmas plays, and in many cathedrals a large star was hung over the *præsepe* at Christmas time. It is most natural, therefore, that it should have crept into the *Shepherd Play*. Cf. the similar borrowing of the gift-element, Ch. II, 559.

358–435. This tedious passage has parallels in the other cycles, which are often clever and humorous; cf. C. V, 80–85; Y. IV, 60–64; T. III, 413–430, IV, 656–664.

418. *loden*, for *leden* (see Variants) *Latin* = language, often used poetically for the song of birds. See Dante, *Ball.* 4. 10–13 (Moore, p. 177):

E cantinne gli augelli
Ciascuno in suo latino
Da sera e da mattino
Sulli verdi arbuscelli.

Chaucer, F. 435 (*Sq. T.* 427):

That any foul may in his ledene seyn.

and F. 478 (*Sq. T.* 470):

Right in hir haukes ledene thus she seyde.

442-447, and stage-direction. Cf. C. V, 70-77, and stage-direction; Y. IV, 82-85, and stage-direction.

479. *kinge*. See note on *gode*, Ch. I, 16.

480-539. This conversation between the shepherds and Mary and Joseph is not found in the other cycles. Although it has the charm of a naïve realism, it destroys the spontaneity and inevitableness of the salutation as we have it in the other Shepherd plays.

481-482. The naïveté of the author is quite charming at this point. The shepherds appear as religiously educated 14th century Englishmen, who are perfectly well acquainted with the Christmas story, and have no difficulty in establishing the identity of the mother and child. Cf. T. III, 453.

512-515. This is brought out in *Pseudo-Matt.* 12, where Mary is lead before the priest for having broken her vow of virginity. Joseph is tried with her, for having broken his vow to leave her a virgin. This trial is the subject of the 14th play of the *Coventry Cycle*. Joseph's fear of punishment appears in several passages of the Joseph plays.

524-527. Cf. Y. I, 25-30, and note.

524-525. *De Nat. Mar.*, 7: 'Pontifex publice denuntiabat ut virgines, quæ in templo publice constituebantur et hoc ætatis tempus [14] explessent, domum reverterentur, et nuptiis secundum morem gentis et ætatis maturitatem operam darent.' Mary refuses, but is finally married to Joseph. See T. I, 241-242.

536-539. Cf. Luke 2. 17: 'And when they had seen it they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning the child.' The Christmas trope follows this: 'nuntiantes dicite quia natus est.' Cf. Ch. II, 654-678; T. III, 491, 495, IV, 744.

549-551. Cf. T. III, 454-457.

552 ff. Cf. C. V, 90 ff., and note; T. III, 458 ff., and note; T. IV, 710 ff.

559. The presentation of gifts by the shepherds is evidently borrowed from the Magi story. C. is the only English cycle that omits this element in the *Shepherds' Play*; Arnauld

de Greban's *Mystere de la Passion* (hereafter abbreviated as Gr.), is the only French play that includes it. In Gr. the shepherds present a flute, a calendar, a rattle, and a bell. For another borrowing from the *Magi Play*, see note on l. 300.

560. The shepherds seem perfectly frank in admitting that they are not disinterested; cf. 584–587, 588–591; Y. IV, 105–107, 114–118; cf., however, the boys in Ch. II, 609–640.

571. Cf. note on l. 559; also see Y. IV, 124.

609–640. Notice the simplicity and beauty of these lines, far superior to anything else in this play. Notice also the absence of requests for favor.

630. The first shepherd in Gr. presents a flageolet.

645–646. From the Magnificat; cf. C. III, 87.

654–678. See ll. 536–539, and note.

673–675. According to the custom of mendicant friars. Cf. Chaucer's satirical description in the *Prologue* 208–269, especially:

Ther nas noman nowhere so vertuous,
He was the beste beggere in his hous.

and

Therefore instede of wepyng and preyeres
Men most yeve silver to the povre freeres.

685. Louth in Lincolnshire (?). Probably used only for alliteration.

COVENTRY INCARNATION (I)

In the Prologue to the entire Cycle, Secundus Vexillator says:

In the xjde. pagent goth Gabriel
And doth salute oure lady ffre;
Than grett with chylde, as I zow telle,
That blyssyd mayde forsothe is she.
Tho iij maydenys that with here dwelle
Here gret speche, bot noon thei se,
Than they suppose that sum angelle
Goddys masangere that it shuld be.

And thus
 The Holy Gost in here is lyth,
 And Goddys sone in here is pygth;
 The aungelle doth telle what he shal hyght,
 And namyth the chylde Jhesus.

Notice that there is no description of ll. 1–213, and cf. note on C. III.

1–186. These lines belong to one of the most popular and wide-spread types of mediæval allegory. The general history of this allegory has been admirably treated by Miss Hope Traver in a Bryn Mawr Dissertation (1907), called *The Four Daughters of God*. To this dissertation I am indebted for a complete bibliography of the subject, and for the suggestion of the parallel between this play and the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*.

The allegory is based on Ps. 84. 11: 'Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi, Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt.' This verse was first allegorized in the *Midrash*, where the dispute arises at the time of the creation of man. Hugo of St. Victor (1097–1141) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) developed the allegory, probably independently. Hugo's version does not concern us here, as it had no effect on this play. Bernard was the first to associate the story with the Advent season; this association being suggested probably by the occurrence of Ps. 84. 11 in the Christmas liturgy. Bernard's version is found in his sermon, *In Festo Annunciationis Beate Virginis* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 183. 383–390). This sermon is the direct ancestor of the greater number of the mediæval versions.

The great influence of this sermon, however, comes through a secondary source, the 14th century version by Bonaventura (see Introduction, p. xxxiii) in his *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, chaps. 1 and 2 (*Opera Sancti Bonaventuræ*, Venice 1756, vol. 12). From these *Meditations* the author of our play seems to have borrowed directly in many places (cf. notes on ll. 113–170). In other places, however, particularly in the first hundred lines, the frequent exact parallels in language with the 14th century English *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (Horstmann, *Richard Rolle of Hampole* 1. 345–351) would seem to

show that they are both derived directly from an earlier English version of Bonaventura's Meditations. Miss Traver has shown that the play is not derived from the *Charter*, as it follows Bonaventura at times when the *Charter* does not; for instance, in the order of events and the placing of the Council of the Trinity after the dispute between the sisters (see l. 171, note). The *Charter* also omits the Annunciation, which appears in both Bonaventura and the play.

Hone (*Ancient Mysteries*) suggested that this play was derived from an English translation of Bonaventura known as the *Speculum Vitæ Christi or the Mirror of the blissed lyffe of oure Lorde Ihu Chryste* (then unpublished), but from the extracts which he gives there is no reason for such a theory.

If Hone refers to the translation by Nicholas Love (circ. 1400), recently published, he has no foundation for such a theory. There are practically no verbal parallels between Love's translation and the versions in our play and in the *Charter*.

The earliest English version of the allegory, taken probably from Bernard, is a 12th century poem, *Vices and Virtues* (ed. Holthausen, EETS. 89). The 15th century *Castell of Perseverance* (EETS. Ex. Ser. 91) is, next to the *Charter*, the English version closest to our play. Its resemblance consists in the main outline of the arguments offered by the sisters, and there are a few verbal parallels. The dispute arises, however, at the time of man's death, and not before the Incarnation. Miss Traver conjectures, and I think rightly, that the *Castell* is from the same unknown source as the *Charter* and our play.

Lydgate's *Life of our Lady* also includes the allegory, apparently taken from Bernard. There are many continental versions, chief among which is Arnould de Greban's *Mistère de la Passion*. But there was also a very different development of the allegory through a version, contemporary with Bonaventura's, by the English bishop, Grossetete, in his feudal allegory, the *Chasteau d'Amour*. The best known descendant of this version is in the *Cursor Mundi*, which therefore is only remotely connected with this play.

The allegory appears several times in later English literature, but the treatment is always very general, and it is impossible to trace any relation to the older forms. The first of these later versions appears in *Piers Plowman*, just before the Harrowing of Hell (*Passus* 18, Text B). Skeat thinks that the author had in mind the *Coventry Mysteries*. I agree with Miss Traver that there is no reason for such a supposition, and I suspect that, after tracing the development of the allegory in Miss Traver's monograph, Professor Skeat himself would not maintain this theory. Another English version, *The Court of Sapience*, ascribed to Lydgate (15th cent.), shows the influence of both Bonaventura and Grossetete.

Miss Traver includes a very remote analogue in *Jacob's Well* (15th cent., EETS. 115. 255-256). A much later reminiscence is in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory* (1610), and another in Drummond of Hawthornden's *The Shadow of Jugement*.

For an account of the many Continental versions the student is referred to Miss Traver's monograph. One English version, which has escaped Miss Traver, is in one of the *Ballatis of the Nativite of Christ*, in the Bannatyne MS. (ed. Hunterian Club, Pt. I, pp. 73-74):

Quhen we were banyst fro thi blys,
And in the lymb fra lichtnes lent,
Mercy bad the forgif our miss,
And mekle mekit thyn entent.
Bot Richt said euer in jugement
Quod summa veritas fuisti,
And mycht nocht to that wrang consent:
Beata vbera que suxisti.

Thus euer quhen Mercy spak for man
Rycht said: 'He seruit for to de,'
Sa vpoun this a stryfe began
In hevynnis consistory he.
Thow, Sone of God, thame to agre,
Lis quorum celis non cessauit,
To de for man thow tuk on the:
Beatus venter qui te portauit.

Than with sueit sound and melody
 Sang all the angell ordouris cleir,
 And all the hevinly cumpany
 Reiosit with a blisfull cheir.
 Peace kist Justice, hir sistir' deir,
 Quia nos redimere voluisti,
 Than Rycht and Mercy imbracit neir.
 Beatus vbera que suxisti.

1-56. This introduction to the strife of the sisters is one of the marks which distinguish Bonaventura and his followers from Bernard and his followers. Bonaventura prefixed a chapter to Bernard's account, in which the angels pray for man's redemption. The Italian *Annunziatione* (ed. Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni* 1. 182) follows Bonaventura closely.

1-3. *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (see above, hereafter abbreviated as *Char.*), p. 345: 'and Adam hadde mochel sorowe and fel sekè and deid and his wyf bothe, and here soules wenten to helle, and that was grete pyte, and not oneliche thei alone but all tho that comen of hem, the whyche kemen aftur that be foure thousande sex hundred and foure yer wenten to helle eychone.'

1. Among the one hundred and eight computations of the year of the creation recorded in *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, none can be made to agree with this computation of the years that Adam suffered in Hell. I have, however, worked out the method by which this result was reached. According to the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (cf. notes on T. I, 9-15, and 12) Christ was to come 5500 years after the creation; according to Gen. 5. 5, Adam lived to be 930 years old. Subtracting 930 from 5500 we find that at the time of the Incarnation Adam had been in Hell 4570 years. Now most of the accounts of the redemption of Adam are of course given in the description of the Harrowing of Hell, which occurred in 33 A. D. Evidently the author of the source of our play and the *Charter* carelessly followed such a computation, forgetting that his play was supposed to represent the year of the Incarnation; for adding the 33 years of Christ's life to the 4570 years between Adam's death and the birth of Christ we get 4603 years, practically the date

in the play, for there is always confusion in reckoning the year of the Nativity.

Cf. Y. 37. (*The Harrowing of Hell*) 39-40:

Adam: Foure thousande and sex hundreth zere
Haue we been here in this stede.

The 4004 years, which we find given in the King James version of the Bible as the date of the creation, are merely due to the computation of Archbishop Ussher (d. 1653).

7. The introduction of Isaiah and Jeremiah into this preliminary appeal is due, undoubtedly, to the influence of the Prophet plays, where they normally appear as first and second prophets. Cf. note on Y. I, 1-132.

Isaiah appears in the Prologue to the Coventry *Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant of the Nativity* (EETS. Ex. Ser. 87). He prays God to release mankind from misery, and to restore to grace Adam and us, by a child born of a virgin.

7-10. *Char.* 347: 'Isaye seyde thus, "utinam dirumperes celos et descenderes [Is. 64. 1]. Wolde god," he seyde, "thou woldest bresten heuene and come adoon."'

8. A parenthetical remark, not Isaiah's prophesy, which begins in the next line.

9. *Char.* 345: 'And he cam doun into this world and sought hem [mankind] here thre and thretty zeer.'

17-18. *Char.* 347: 'Ieromye made a reuful mone and seyde thus "Ve mihi misero, quoniam addidit dominus dolorem dolori meo. wo to me, wrecche," he seith, "that God hath eked more sorowe to my sorowe. I have traauyled withouten reste in sikyng and in kare."' This is from Jeremiah 45. 3, and is wrongly attributed to Isaiah in the play.

25 ff. *Char.* 347: '"Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum, et plorabo die et nocte interfeccionem filiæ populi mei [Jer. 9. 1]. A," he seith, "who shal zeven me water to myn heued, and who schal zeuen me a welle of terris to myn eyen."'

The following is the prophecy of Jeremiah from the Chester *Balaam and Balak*, Ch. 5. 329 ff.

My eyes must run and sorrow aye
 Without ceasing, night and day,
 for my daughter, soth to say,
 Shall suffer great anye.

This is taken from Jer. 14. 17, but is similar to the one in our text, and is another indication of the fusion of the prophet element with Bonaventura's *Meditationes*. Cf. note on l. 7.

29-30. *Char.* 348: "me thinketh thi sorwe is as grete as a see . . . Cecidit corona capitis nostri, ve nobis quia peccauimus. I can nougt ellis seyn," he seith, "but the fairest flour of al oure garland is fallen away, alas, alas, and weloway that euer we dede synne."

48. This argument appears in Bonaventura, *Med.* 1, where the angels, addressing God, say: 'Domine, placuit majestati vestræ, et rationalem creaturam, scilicet hominem creare propter vestram bonitatem, ut ipse esset hic nobiscum, et ut nobis ex ipso nostrarum eontingeret restauratio ruinarum.'

From this arose one of the most popular mystery 'disputes,' as to whether man's sin of disobedience was as bad as Lucifer's sin of pride. This discussion fills many a weary line of Greban. The fact of the bare mention of it here is another indication of the closeness of the play to Bonaventura, and of its independence of continental models.

52-53. *Char.* 348: 'And whan Almygty God had hard thus thes prophetis, with many othere men, make mochel mone for many geer, . . . he had grete pyte of hem that thei ferden so, and that mannes soule was in the prisone of the pyne of helle.'

57-62. *Char.* 349: 'And thanne seyde Truthe thus: "Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti. A, lord," scho seyde, "thou hast euermore loued wele me that am thi dougtre, . . . I pray the forsake nougt me. Thou seydst that what time that man ete of that appul that he schulde dieye and gon to helle."'

65. *Char.* 349: "Quia Veritas domini manet in eternum. for whi goddys treuthe schulde dwellen euere-more withouten ende."

72-76. *Char.* 350: "Therfore, leue lord," scho seyde, "lat

man be stille in helle and forsake nougt me." And thanne seyde Mercy: "O pater misericordiarum et deus tocius consolacionis, qui consolaris nos in omni tribulacione nostra. A, thou fader of mercy," scho seyde, "and God of al comforte, thou that confortes all thing in anger and wo, haue mercy of mannus soul."'

81-83. *Char.* 350: "Quoniam dixisti in eternum seruabo illi misericordiam. for why," scho seyde, "thou seydest thou schuldest kepe to hym thi mercy withouten ende, and gif therefore thou be trewe thou schalt haue mercy of mannus soule."'

89-96. *Char.* 350: 'And thanne seyde Rigtfulnesse: "Nay, nay," scho seith, "it may not be so. Quia iustus dominus et iusticias dilexit. for whi, lord," scho seith, "thou art rigtful and thou louest rigtfulnesse, and therefore thou ne mayest not rihtfulliche sauen mannus soule. it is rigt that it haue as it hath disserued. Dominum qui se genuit dereliquit et oblitus est dei creatoris sui. he forsoke God that hath forthe-Ibrought him, and he forzat the that madest hym of nougt, and therefore it is resoun that he that hath forsaken the lord of all pitee and mercy that he neuer haue of the neither pitee nor mercy."'

101-112. *Char.* 350: "Therefore lat mannus soule be stille as it is, for that is resoun, and ellis me thinketh thou hast forsaken me."... And thanne seyde Mercy to Rigtfulness: "A, leve suster, lat ben and seye not so, . . . Quia misericordia eius super omnia opera eius. for whi only goddis mercy is abouen all his werkis. Et misericordia eius ab eterno et usque in eternum. and Gods mercy was withouten begynnyng and schall ben withouten endyng."'

108-110. This idea appears in Gr., ll. 2498-2505:

Franche volonté en saisine
 Avoit l'omme lors, point n'en doubte;
 Mes sensualité voisine
 Lui estoit et contraire toute.
 L'ennemy, la char qui domine
 Le monde tost croit et escoute,
 Comme la branche qui s'encline
 Au vent qui le plus fort la boute.

113-170. These lines seem to be taken directly from Bonaventura, *Med.* 2; see notes following.

113-114. *Med.* 2: 'Dixit pax, "Parcite vobis a verbis istis, virtutum non est honesta contentio."'

115-144. *Char.* 351: 'And thanne seide Pees to here thre sistren, "Pax domini exsuperat omnem sensum. Goddis pees ouergoth eueriche manes witt. Thouȝ it be so," scho seiȝth, "that Truthe seith a grete skile why mannus soule schulde not be saued and Rigthfulnesse seith also, neuertheles me thenketh that Mercy seith altherbest that man schulde be saued, for why ellys," scho seith, "schulde God forsaken ȝow al thre, bothe Rigthfulnesse and Mercy & Trewthe, and that were grete reuthe; and not only schulde he thus forsaken al ȝow thre, but he schulde also forsaken me. forwhy as longe as man's soule is in helle ther shall ben discord . . . bytwene God and man, bytwene aungel and man, bytwene man and man, bytwene man and himself, so that I, that am pes, schulde a-ben forsaken ouer-al, and that were no resoun, and therfore doth after my conseil, and praye we alle togeders to God that is prince of pees, that he wole maken pees and acord by-twixen ȝow thre, bytwyne hymself and man, by-twyne man and aungel, and bytwyne man and man, and ordeyne sich a weye that he migt kepe us stille alle foure, bothe Mercy and Truthe, Rigthfulnesse and Pees." and hem thouȝte that scho seyde best and prayden alle to the fadur of heuene that he schulde so don. And he seyde, "Ego cogito cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis. I thenke," he sayde, "the thoughtis of pes and nouȝt of wickednesse. I schal kepe ȝow stille alle foure, and I schal sauen mannus soule and brynge hym to blisse."'

137-144. *Med.* 2: 'Scripsit autem Rex sententiam quam paci, quæ propinquius ei stabat, dedit legendam, sic continentem. Hæc dicit, "Perii si Adam non moriatur." Et hæc dicit, "Perii si non misericordiam consequatur. Fiat mors bona, et habeant utræque quod petunt."'

145-152. *Med.* 2: 'Inveniatur qui ex charitate moriatur, non obnoxius morti, et sic mors non poterit tenere innoxium, sed faciat in ea foramen, per quod transeant liberati. Placuit sermo.'

153-160. *Med.* 2: 'Rediit ergo Veritas ad terram et misericordia remansit in cælo. . . . Sed a misericordia perlustratur cælum et neminem invenit, qui sufficientem ad hoc habeat charitatem. . . . Et cum nullus inveniretur, . . . redeunt ad constitutam diem . . . "non invento quod desiderabant," dixit pax.'

161-162. *Med.* 2: 'Omnes enim servi sumus, et qui cum bene fecerimus dicere debemus illud Lucæ "Quia inutiles servi sumus."' This is not said by Justice, however, in *Med.*

167-170. *Med.* 2: 'Dixit Pax, "Qui dedit consilium feret auxilium." Intellexit hoc Rex et ait, "Pœnitet me fecisse hominem; pœnitentiam me agere oportet, pro homine quem creavi."'

171. The Council of the Trinity (see following notes) in the *Char.* precedes the strife between the sisters.

171-180. *Char.* 348: 'He ordeyned a counseil of the holy trinite in the blisse of heuene, of the fadur and of the sone and of the holy gost, and seyde, "ge weten wel we maden mannus soule to oure likenesse, . . . and by his folye he [fell], . . . and therfore he was taken out and put in to prisoun of the pit of helle, and there he hath bene nowe foure thousand ger sexe hundred and more, and that is grete pitee; me thynkith it were a good dede . . . to delyuere mannus soule out of that sorye prisoun, . . . haue we pity on hym." . . . And alle the holy trinite graunted that it schulde so be. "But," he seyde, "who that schulde don swyche a dede, hym behoued for to be swyche on that were beholden for to don it, and also that he migt don it." But there was no thing that was byholden to delyuere mannus soule but onliche man, ne ther was no thing that migte delyuere hym but gif it were god; and therfore who so schulde do that dede he most be bothe god and man . . . almyty goddis sone schulde come down into this world and ben Iborn of a mayden and becomen man.'

179. Bonaventura differs here. The Son is chosen for the mission by the Virtues, because the Father is too terrible and mighty to please Mercy and Peace, and the Holy Spirit is too gentle and benign to please Truth and Justice.

185. *Med.* 2: 'Tunc ergo impletum est illud propheticum: "Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi, Justitia et Pax osculatæ sunt."'

190. St. Ephrem, *Serm. de laud. Dei Gen. Mar. I*, on Zechariah 4. 2-3: 'Behold a candlestick all of gold etc.,' writes: 'Who then is the candlestick? The holy Mary, because she bore the immaterial light, the God Incarnate, . . . and as the candlestick is not of itself the cause of light, but is that which bears the light, so too the Virgin is not of herself God, but the temple of God.' See Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers*, Index, under *Mary as the golden candlestick*.

215-216. Directly from Luke 1. 28; cf. Ch. I, 1-4, note.

217. The second verse of the hymn Ave Maris Stella, sung at the Feast of the Annunciation, is as follows:

Sumens illud Ave
Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans Evæ nomen.

See Guéranger, *L'Annee Liturgique: Le Carême*, p. 562.

Mist. d. l. Nat. p. 48, Gabriel says:

Per toi est joie recouvrée
Qui par Evain estoit perdue.

The idea of Mary as a second Eve was a popular one even in the first centuries of the Church. St. Justin (120-165 A. D.) writes (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 6. 710): 'Whereas Eve, yet a virgin and undefiled, through conceiving the word that came from the serpent, brought forth death; the virgin Mary, taking faith and joy, when the angel told her the good tidings, answered "Be it unto me according to thy word."'

Irenæus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 7. 958) and Tertullian (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 2. 782) have similar comparisons. For many other references, and for a full discussion of the subject, see Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers*, chap. 1.

Cf. T. I, 32-34, and note.

218-226. The general idea in these lines seems to come from Bonaventura's long treatise on the Ave Maria, called *Speculum B. Mariæ Virginis*. The titles of the various

chapters will best show the connection: Chap. 2. 'Quod B. V. Maria libera fuit a triplici vae culpae actualis, . . . miseræ originalis, . . . pœnæ gehennalis'; cf. l. 218. There is also some punning on the words Vae and Ave in this chapter, which may have suggested l. 217. Chap. 5. 'Quod gratia Mariæ sit vera, immensa, multiplex et utile valde'; cf. ll. 221-222. Chaps. 8-10 explain why God was peculiarly with Mary, for she was 'filia nobilissima, mater dignissima, sponsa venustissima, et ancilla devotissima'; cf. ll. 223-225. Bonaventura in *Med.* 6, introduces the triple commendation: 'Commendabatur quod esset gratia plena, quod Dominus esset secum, et quod esset benedicta super omnes mulieres.'

St. Augustine, in *Sermo CXXIII: In Natali Domini* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 39), gives a similar interpretation.

230 ff. *De Nat. Mar.* 9: 'Virgo autem quæ iam angelicos bene noverat vultus et lumen cæleste insuetum non habebat, neque angelica visione territa neque luminis magnitudine stupefacta, sed in solo eius sermone turbata est.' Quoted by Bonaventura in *Med.* 4, who adds: 'Cum videret se tribus commendari non poterat humilis Domina non turbari.'

235-242. The author now returns to the account in Luke 1. 30-33, which is followed and preceded by the account from *De Nat. Mar.* See notes, and cf. Ch. I, 9-20; Y. I, 153-168; T. I, 92-105.

247-248. *De Nat. Mar.* 9: 'His angeli verbis virgo, non incredula sed modum scire volens, respondit: "Quomodo istud fieri potest?"'

249-257. Again a close paraphrase of Luke 1. 35-37. Cf. Ch. I, 27-40; Y. I, 177-184.

261-262. *Med.* 4: 'Tota Trinitas est ibi expectans responsum et consensum huius filiæ singularis.'

267-282. In the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. 19, the promise of a redeemer to the souls in hell is made by God to Seth, the son of Adam, who relates it to the patriarchs and prophets.

285-286. Luke 1. 38. Mary's humility is more strongly emphasised in *De Nat. Mar.* 9, where she adds to this reply: 'neque enim dominæ nomine digna sum.'

After 290, stage-direction. Mis. d. l. Nat. p. 50: 'Cy descende 1 coulom qui soit fait par bonne manière.'

291-298. *Med. 4: 'Tunc filius Dei statim totus et sine mora intravit uterum virginis, et ex ea carnem assumpsit, . . . et in eodem instanti anima creata et infusa erat, perfectus homo secundum omnia corporis lineamenta, sed parvulus valde ita quod in utero postea naturaliter crescebat, ut alii, sed non fuit dilata infusio animæ, vel membrorum distinctio, ut in aliis. Erat enim perfectus Deus sicut perfectus homo, et ita sapiens et potens.'*

The closeness of the above to the version in the play is best recognized by comparing other versions of the same thing. See for instance St. Augustine, *Sermo CXCIV: De Annuntiatione* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 39. 2106): 'Nec mora, revertitur nuntius et virginalem thalamum ingreditur Christus. Efficitur subito prægans beata Dei genetrix.'

311. The appellation turtle-dove is from the interpretation of the Song of Solomon 6. 8: 'One is my dove, my turtle is but one.' See Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers*, Index, under title: *Mary as dove*.

328. Cf. C. IV, 48-51, note. *De Nat. Mar.* 1: 'Igitur beata et gloriosa semper Virgo Maria de stirpe regia et familia David oriunda.'

No mention is made in Scripture of Mary's descent, nor of her being of the tribe of David. It is Joseph's descent from David that is given in Matt. 1. and Luke 3. The Church Fathers, to explain Christ's descent from David, decided that Mary was Joseph's cousin.

After 338. A hymn of the 12th or 13th century, according to Daniel (*Thesaurus Hymnolog.*). Not often used in the Church liturgy.

COVENTRY JOSEPH PLAY (II).

In the Prologue to the Cycle, Tertius Vexillator says:

In the xij pagent, as I zow telle,
 Joseph comyth hom fto fer countré,

Oure ladyes wombe with chylde doth swelle,
 And then Joseph ful heuy is he.
 He doth forsake here with hert ful felle,
 Out of countre he gynnyth to fle,
 He nevyr more thenkyth with here to dwelle,
 And than oure lady ryth sore wepyth she.
 An Aungelle seyde hym ryf,
 'God is with thi wyff sertayn,
 Therefore, Joseph, turne hom agayne.'
 Than is Joseph in herte ful fayn
 And goth ageyn onto his wyff.

C., not following Bonaventura, agrees with T. in putting the play of Joseph's trouble before the Visitation. Ch. and Y. follow the *Protev.* and the suggestion in *De Nat. Mar.* 9 in putting the Visitation first. There is no Scriptural authority for either arrangement, and no Apocryphal authority for the C. T. arrangement.

1. *Protev.* 13: 'And her sixth month came, and behold Joseph came from his house-building; and entering his house he found her pregnant.'

Pseudo-Matt. 10: 'Cum hæc agerentur, Joseph in Capharnaum maritima erat in opere occupatus, erat enim faber ligni: ubi moratus est mensibus novem. Reversusque in domum suum invenit Mariam pregnantem.'

3. *Susanna.*] *Pseudo-Matt.* 8: 'Tunc Ioseph accepit Mariam cum aliis quinque virginibus, quæ essent cum ea in domo Ioseph. Erant autem istæ virgines Rebecca, *Sephora*, *Susanna*, Abigea et Zahel.'

15-16. Cf. the bright light which shone from the stable when Joseph brought the midwives (C. IV, 161-166, and note), and which was strangely enough no more convincing to Salome than this light is to Joseph.

25 ff. This kind of dialogue between Mary and Joseph, its origin and relation to the drama, are discussed by Cook in 'A Remote Analogue to the Miracle Play' (*Jour. Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, 4. 420). Such dialogues appear in S. Athanasius (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 28. 951), in a sermon attributed to S. Chrysostom (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 60. 758), in Proclus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 65. 736), in Germanus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 98. 331),

and in a sermon attributed to Augustine (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 39. 2109). There is another example in the Old English *Christ* of Cynewulf (ll. 164–213).

In Athanasius, Joseph is merely perplexed to understand how the virtuous Mary can have sinned, and he is rebuked by Mary for lack of faith in her. In pseudo-Chrysostom he discusses whether he shall leave her or expose her. If he does the latter, he fears that she may prove to be innocent. The same doubt as to whether or not to expose her is the chief theme of Proclus' sermon. In Germanus, Joseph tries to discover who the child's father is; in Augustine, he protests his own innocence, and again is uncertain about exposing her.

All these elements appear in most of our Joseph plays; but as they also appear in the Apocryphal Gospels, I should doubt very strongly whether there is any conscious borrowing from the sermons. At least there is no conclusive evidence either way, and it seems more probable that the Joseph plays are merely realistic expansions of the Scriptural and Apocryphal accounts.

There are a few rather insignificant parallels between the sermons and the mysteries. See notes on C. II, 97, 114–115; Y. II, 61–62; T. I, 292, 305–310.

36–38. Cf. 42, 47–48; Y. II, 103, 158–159; T. I. 186–187; 195.

55–56. In John Heywood's *Epigrams on Proverbs* (1562), in two proverbs which have nothing else in common with this one, the bent of one's bow stands for one's disposition or course of action.

59 ff. *Pseudo-Matt.* 11: 'Cumque ordinasset in nocte exsurgere ut fugiens habitaret in occultis, ecce in ipsa nocte apparuit angelus Domini.'

The Scriptural and other Apocryphal accounts make Joseph decide to divorce Mary, 'put her away privily,' not run away from her.

67. *Sephor.*] See note on l. 3.

71 ff. *Pseudo-Matt.* 10: 'Ut quid me seducitis ut credam vobis quia angelus Domini impregnavit eam? Potest enim

fieri ut quisquam se finxerit angelum Domini et deceperit eam.'

82-83. *Les Proverbes Communs*, Jean de la Veprie, Paris 1498: 'Vous battez les buissons dont une autre a les oysissons.' Also quoted in English in John Ray's *Collection of English Proverbs*, 1742.

95 ff. *Protev.* 14: 'And Joseph was greatly afraid, and separated from her, and reasoned what he should do with her. And Joseph said: "If I hide her fault, I find myself fighting with the law of the Lord; and if I betray her to the children of Israel, I fear lest that which is in her is holy, and I shall be found betraying innocent blood to the sentence of death."'

96 f. *Deuteronomy* 22. 13, 20-21: 'If any man take a wife and go in unto her, . . . and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel; then shall they bring the damsel out to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die: for she hath wrought foully in Israel.'

97. Augustine (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 39. 2109): 'Whatsoever virgin shall defile her father's house with adultery shall be stoned.' Cf. also C. 23, where this is quoted as Mosaic law.

114-115. Germanus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 98. 331): 'Reveal, O Mary, the plotter against my house. . . . He hath dishonoured my house, and the twelve tribes shall have me in derision.'

120-121. This sounds like a proverb, but I have not been able to find it elsewhere.

127-136. Y. II, 202-208, 231-236.

151 ff. Expansion of Matt. 1. 20-21. The Apocryphal Gospels follow Matthew.

160 ff. *Pseudo-Matt.* 11: 'Exsurgens autem Joseph a somno gratias egit Deo suo, et locutus est Mariæ et virginibus quæ erant cum ea et narravit visum suum. Et consolatus est super Mariam, dicens: "Peccavi, quoniam suspicionem aliquam habui in te."'

173-174. Matt. 1. 21-22: 'For he shall save his people

from their sins. Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet.'

178-179. Cf. T. I, 338-340.

184-188. Cf. Y. II, 294-298.

COVENTRY VISITATION (III).

No mention is made of this play in the Prologue, where all the other plays are described in turn. A large part of this play is composed of a monologue by Contemplacion. We have noticed that in the Prologue dealing with C. I, the Contemplacion part of that play was not mentioned. It seems quite probable that at the time the Prologue was written this play was being revised, and the Contemplacion scenes added here and in C. I. Nothing is lost in the main action if we eliminate these scenes, and much is gained in consistency in this play, where Contemplacion's speeches are often in direct variance with the plot. Cf. ll. 147-149, 152 and notes.

7-8. Luke 1. 39: 'Exsurgens autem Maria in diebus illis abiit in montana cum festinatione, in civitatem Juda.'

23-27. I Chronicles 24.

23-25. Bonaventura, *Expositio in Cap. I. S. Lucae (Opera*, vol. 6): 'Cum David cultum Dei ampliaret, sicut dicitur in Paralipom., ministeria sacerdotum in viginti quatuor sortes divisit: inter quas familia Abias, de qua fuit Zacharias.'

26-27. In another part of the *Expositio* Bonaventura explains: 'Sacerdotale explicit officium, adjungendo regale dominium.'

27-36. Luke 1. 11, 13, 18, 20, 23-24.

35. The only reference in the Apocryphal Gospels to Zachary is in the *Protev.* 10: 'And at that time Zacharias became speechless, and Samuel was in his stead, until Zacharias spake.'

37. At the time of the Annunciation; cf. Luke 1. 36, also C. I, 253.

43. The change of style from Contemplacion's erudite monologue, back to the simple and natural dialogue between Mary and Joseph, is most striking here. Moreover, it seems much more in accord with the custom in the mysteries not to attempt to fill in the intermission, while Mary and Joseph are climbing the hills of 'Montana.' Here it seems most credible that the monologue is a late addition by some sophisticated emendator, who wished to account for the time spent in the journey, and at the same time air his own learning.

53-54. Luke 1. 41.

58-59. Luke 1. 42. Cf. Ch. I, 1-4, and note.

61, 63-64. Luke 1. 43-45.

66. See note on C. III, 76.

71. See C. I, 292.

76. *Med.* 5: 'Quærit Domina de modo suæ conceptionis et Elizabeth de modo suæ et hæc sibi invicem narrant lætanter.'

81-126. The Magnificat, with English translation by Elizabeth. The hard work and conspicuous failure that the author makes of this translation is all the proof that we need that these plays were originally written in English. Notice that the author has retained the Gloria Patri, which the Church added to the Magnificat in the service; this is another bit of evidence that the author was following the liturgy, perhaps a liturgical drama, and not merely the Scripture version. Cf. Gabriel's use of the Church canticle Ave Maria in Ch. I, 1-4, instead of his salutation as recorded in Luke.

82-126. A similar interlinear translation, quite as unsuccessful as poetry, appears in a version of the Lord's prayer in the Auchinleck MS. (*Engl. Stud.* 9. 47).

129-130. Even unto this day!

131-136. *Med.* 5: 'Et stetit ibidem Domina quasi mensibus tribus, ministrans et serviens ei in omnibus quæ poterat, humiliter, reverenter, et devote, quasi oblita se matrem Dei esse.'

147-149. These lines are evidently out of place (see variants), nor do they seem to belong between ll. 50 and 51, where we might expect them. Perhaps this shows that in transcribing this play our scribe was working on two different manuscripts, with different versions of the play, the

one including these lines written to go with the "Contemplation" version.

151. Proverbs 3. 12: 'For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth.'

152. This sudden transition from speeches of greeting to speeches of farewell may be accounted for by the lack of skill on the part of the dramatist in his attempt to get the characters off the stage, but more probably it is because of the composite nature of this version of the play.

157. Cf. 152, and note. Notice that Mary and Joseph have not stayed the three months promised in l. 132; in l. 174, however, Contemplation tells us that they did stay three months.

165-169. The Ave Maria was inserted in the Church service for the Fourth Sunday in Advent by Gregory the Great, in the sixth century. It is first mentioned in England, however, in 1237. In 1260 Pope Urban added at the end 'Jesus Christ, Amen' (cf. l. 169).

170. Oure ladyes sawtere = the Rosary. It consists of 150 Ave Marias and 15 Pater Nosters, so distributed that after every 10th Ave shall come a Pater Noster. See Rock, *Church of our Fathers* 3. 320. The Rosary was called a Psalter, because it took the place in the people's devotions of the *Book of Psalms of the Virgin*, a paraphrase of the Psalms in honor of the Virgin. See Bonaventura, *Psalterium B. V. Mariae*.

Periods covered by indulgences would vary at different times. When the ecclesiastic who wrote this part of the play was writing, a man was saved from 10,800 years of Purgatory for saying the Lady's Psalter once a day for one year.

176-179. *Med.* 5: 'O qualis domus, qualis camera, qualis lectus, in qua et quo pariter commorantur et requiescunt tales matres talibus filiis fœcundatæ, Maria et Elisabeth, Jesus et Joannes. Sunt et ibi magnifici senes, scilicet Zacharias et Joseph.'

185. The Benedictus, Zachary's song of thanksgiving, is found in Luke 1. 68-79. It is still part of the Church Service for Morning Prayer.

186-187. *Med.* 5: 'Et sic in domo illa hæc duo cantica pulcherrima, scilicet Magnificat et Benedictus, facta fuerunt.'

188-191. *Med.* 5: 'Tandem valefaciens Elisabeth et Zacharias, ac benedicens Joanni, redit ad domum suæ habitationis in Nazareth.'

191. *Med.* 5: 'Ipsa lætanter colludebatur eidem, et osculabatur jucunde.'

COVENTRY NATIVITY (IV).

In the Prologue to the Cycle, Secundus Vexillator says:

In the xv pagent shewe we shal
How Joseph went withoute varyauns
ffor mydwyuys to helpe oure lady at alle,
Of childe that she had delyverauns.

3-4. Luke 2.1; *Protev.* 17; *Pseudo-Matt.* 13; *Hist. Jos.* 7. In all these the Emperor is called Augustus, not Octavian, so that perhaps our author is following the French Mystery terminology, rather than Scripture.

23 ff. This legend is adapted from one in *Pseudo-Matt.* 20, where on the flight to Egypt Christ commands a palm tree to bow to his mother, who desires the fruit.

Hone (*Ancient Mysteries*, p. 90) gives a parallel to this legend in an old Christmas carol:

Joseph was an old man,
And an old man was he,
And he married Mary,
Queen of Galilee.

When Joseph was married
And his cousin Mary got,
Mary proved big with child,
By whom Joseph knew not.
As Joseph and Mary
Walked through the garden gay,
Where the cherries they grew
Upon every tree;

O then bespoke Mary
 With words both meek and mild,
 'Gather me some cherries, Joseph,
 They run so in my mind,
 Gather me some cherries,
 For I am with child.'

O then bespoke Joseph
 With words most unkind,
 'Let him gather thee cherries
 That got thee with child.'

O then bespoke Jesus,
 All in his mother's womb,
 'Go to the tree, Mary,
 And it shall bow down.
 Go to the tree, Mary,
 And it shall bow to thee,
 And the highest branch of all
 Shall bow down to Mary's kne.

'And she shall gather cherries
 By one, by two, by three;
 Now you may see, Joseph,
 Those cherries were for me.
 O, eat your cherries, Mary,
 O, eat your cherries now,
 O, eat your cherries, Mary,
 That grow on the bough.'

48-51. Cf. C. I, 328-330, and note. Also see the reference to the relationship of Mary and Joseph in the second stanza of the carol just quoted.

56 ff. A parallel to the citizen is Zebel in the *Mir. d. l. Nat.*, who meets Mary and Joseph upon their arrival in Bethlehem, guides them to the stable, and stays with Mary while Joseph goes for another midwife.

73-74. Joseph's meekness seems to have been proverbial; there is no specific instance of it in Scripture, but it seems to have been recognised as a general characteristic. Cf. Y. I, 103-104.

83. Cf. note on Ch. I, 456-463.

After 124, stage-direction. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13, two manuscripts read: 'Iam enim Nativitas Domini advenerat, et Ioseph perrexerat quærere obstetrices.'

137 ff. Zelomi and Salome are the names of the midwives as recorded in *Pseudo-Matt.* and the *Protev.* (Cf. Ch. I, 528, note.)

161–166. *Prot.* 19: ‘And they stood in the place where the cave was, and a bright cloud overshadowed the cave.’ Cf. C. II, 15–16, and note on ll. 172 ff.

172–308. Although in general the accounts in the *Protev.* and in *Pseudo-Matt.* are alike, in detail they differ quite considerably. C. follows *Pseudo-Matt.* closely; the parallels are given in the following notes. The account in the *Protev.* is in chaps. 19 and 20.

172–176. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Et dixit Joseph ad Mariam, “Ego tibi Zelomi et Salomen obstetrices adduxi, quæ foris ante speluncam stant et præ splendore nimio huc introire non audent.”’ Cf. also note on ll. 161–162.

After 176, stage-direction. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Audiens autem hæc Maria subrisit.’

181 ff. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Cui Joseph dixit, “Noli subridere, sed cauta esto, ne forte indigeas medicina.”’

209. In the *Protev.* and in *Pseudo-Matt.*, Salome waits outside.

217. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Cumque ingressa esset Zelomi, dixit ad Mariam, “Dimitte me ut tangam te.”’

225 ff. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Cumque permisisset se Maria tangi, exclamavit voce magna obstetrix et dixit, “Domine, Domine magne, miserere. Nunquam hoc auditum est nec in suspitione habitum, ut mamillæ plenæ sint lacte et natus masculus matrem suam virginem ostendat. Nulla pollutio sanguinis facta est in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente. Virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permansit.”’

245–276. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Audiens hanc vocem alia obstetrix, nomine Salome, dixit, “Quod ego audio non credam nisi forte ipsa probavero.” Et ingressa Salome ad Mariam dixit, “Permitte me ut palpam te et probem utrum verum dixerit Zelomi.” Cumque Maria permisisset, misit Salome manum suam. Et cum misisset et tangeret, statim aruit manus, et præ dolore cœpit flere vehementissime et angustari et clamando dicere. “Domine, tu nosti quia semper

te timui, et omnes pauperes sine retributione acceptionis (sic) curavi, de vidua et orphano nihil accepi, et inopem vacuum a me ire nunquam dimisi. Et ecce misera facta sum propter incredulitatem meam, quia ausa fui temptare virginem tuam.”

277–308. *Pseudo-Matt.* 13: ‘Cumque hæc diceret, apparuit iuxta illam iuvenis quidam valde splendidus dicens ei, “Accede ad infantem et adora eum et continge de manu tua, et ipse salvabit te, quia ipse est salvator seculi et omnium sperantium in se.” Quæ ad infantem confestim accessit, et adorans eum tetigit fimbrias pannorum, in quibus infans erat involutus, et statim sanata est manus eius. Et exiens foras clamare cœpit et dicere magnalia virtutum quæ viderat et quæ passa fuerat, et quemadmodum curata fuerat, ita ut ad prædicationem eius multi crederent.’

COVENTRY SHEPHERDS (V).

In the Prologue to the Cycle, Tertius Vexillator says:

In the xvj pagent cryst shal be born,
 Of that joy aungelys shul synge,
 And telle the shepherdys in that morn
 The blysseful byrth of that kyng.
 The shepherdys shal come hym befforn
 With reverens and with worchepyng,
 ffor he shal savyn that was forlorn,
 And graunt us lyff evyr more lestyng
 Iwys.
 This gle in grythe
 Is mater of myrthe;
 Now crystys byrthe
 Bryng us to his blys.

Notice the inaccuracy in the first line of this prologue. This may have been written to go with an earlier Shepherds' play in which the birth of Christ did occur, or it may be merely that from its origin in the liturgical drama the Shepherd play stands in general for the Christmas play, and the writer of the Prologue is referring to it, generally, as such.

5-6. A decided digression, another indication of the ecclesiastical origin of this cycle. Peter Lombard (d. 1164) was the first to enumerate and define the seven sacraments (*Sententia*, Lib. 4). They are: Baptism, Confirmation, The Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, Matrimony. They were formally recognized by the Church of Rome at the Council of Florence in 1439.

10-12. If this was written after the Mercy and Peace Prologue to C. I, it is strange that, although mention is made of the Redemption and of Peace, we find here no real echoes of the preceding discussion.

26-60. Cf. Y. I, 1-132, and note. This prophetic passage inserted into the *Shepherd Play* shows a late developement of the Augustinian sermon. It is entirely unlike the Coventry *Prophet Play*, Daniel being the only prophet that appears in both. This combination of the two chief elements in the development of the Christmas play (see Introduction p. xii) is most interesting. The shepherds also repeat prophecies in T. III, 332-403 (see also note), and T. IV, 674-682.

26-29. See Y. III, 99-105, and note; Y. IV, 14 ff.

32-37. No such Scriptural prophecy.

38-45. See ll. 26-29, and note.

46-49. Referring perhaps to Amos 9. 13; cf. Y. I, 17 ff., and note. Amos follows Moses in the Rouen Liturgical Play, the *Festum Asinorum*, with the words: 'Ecce dies veniet,' from the same verse. See Y. I, 15, note.

56. This line of the prophecy is perhaps from Daniel 7. 13. The rest seems to be originally conceived. Cf. C. I, 9.

70-77, and stage-direction. Cf. Ch. II, 442-447, and note.

After 77. Stella cæli extirpavit. This hymn was apparently very little known. It is mentioned in Chevalier's *Repertorium* merely as a hymn occurring in some 17th and 18th century French Missals, as a part of the service at the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. MacCracken's *Lydgate Canon* gives evidence of a certain popularity of the hymn in England, by mentioning a translation of it by Lydgate.

He says (p.xxv): "Stella celi extirpauit."

Beg. Thow hevenly quene of grace, our lode-sterre—4 stanzas of 8 lines. MSS. Harley 2251; Addit. 34360; *Harley* 2255 [the italics mean that Lydgate is referred to as translator]; Trin Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56. Rawl. C. 48 has an altered version which may be due to Lydgate.' See Introd. p. xxxvii.

80–85. Cf. Ch. II, 358–435, and note.

81 and 85. These lines must be closely related to Ch. II, 382, 384, 388 etc.

99 ff. Taylor (*Modern Philology*, July 1907, p. 4) says: 'The most highly conventional form of address to Christ [in Middle English poetry] is the Hail Jesus, a prayer in which oftentimes every line begins with this formula.' See note on T. III, 458 ff.; also Ch. II, 552 ff., T. IV, 710 ff. Notice here the abrupt but highly effective salutation, as compared with the gossip in Ch. II, 480 ff. Notice also the absence of presents and requests for favor, which appear in all the other Shepherd Plays.

119–126. This idea of the shepherds preaching comes from Luke 2. 17–18, probably through the medium of the liturgical plays, which always include it. Cf. Ch. II, 651–684.

127 ff. For the vogue of the farewell lyric in Middle English, see Taylor's article, quoted above. The other Shepherd plays close with a single farewell speech.

YORK PROPHETS, ETC. (I)

1–144. A marginal note in the MS. at l. 1 says: 'Doctor, this matter is newly made, wherof we have no copy.' Miss Smith, the editor of the York Plays, says that this note is in a 16th century hand. 'This matter' was probably introduced as a transition from the Old Testament to the New Testament plays, because the *Play of the Prophets*, so popular in other cycles, is lacking in Y.; cf. Ch. 5; C. 7; T. 7.

Sevet (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 38. 398) shows, from the Munich liturgical play, that at an early date the

liturgical Prophet play became combined with the older Adoration and Magi liturgical plays, forming one long liturgical drama on the Nativity. Plays in the vernacular also show this combination; cf. *Mist. d. l. Nat.* The appearance of prophecies in our Shepherd plays (particularly the version in T. III, 332 ff.) is significant, as showing the combination in the oldest type of vernacular mystery play.

1-132. In relation to this long prologue of the prophets we must consider the *Plays of the Prophets*, upon which it is modeled. Their origin and development have been most comprehensively treated by M. Sepet in five articles in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, (28. 1, 211; 29. 105, 261; 38. 397). The origin of the plays is a pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judæos, Paganos, et Arianos*, (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 42. 1117). This sermon was read in the churches at Christmas time, and is of such form as to lend itself naturally to dramatic representation. Augustine calls upon the prophets to testify, for the Jews, to the divinity of Christ. One after another is called upon; they reply with their prophecies in the following order: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk; then, from the New Testament, Simeon, Zachary, Elizabeth, John the Baptist; and finally, from the heathen, Nebuchadnezzar, Virgil and the Erythræan Sibyl.

This sermon appears again and again in almost countless forms. The earliest adaptation seems to be in a rimed Latin dialogue, used at Saint Martial de Limoges. This follows the sermon quite closely, but introduces a new prophet, Israel. Sepet points out, however, that Israel is mentioned in the sermon in Jeremiah's prophecy, 'dedit enim Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo.' After the introduction of Israel it was natural to include Abraham, Isaac, and soon even Adam and Eve. Thus from the sermon of Augustine developed all our Old Testament dramas.

It is not our purpose here to trace the general development of the Prophet play, but merely to show that there is conclusive evidence as to the origin of such passages as this, and to try to show in the succeeding notes the devel-

opment of the sermon into the form in which we find it here.

It must be remembered that the author of this prologue was in all probability following some other late mediæval version, and not the real Scriptural prophecies, nor even the sermon. Moreover, this prologue, having been written in the 16th century, represents a late and complex form of the sermon; this is most clearly shown by the omission of all the chief prophets of the early versions, except Isaiah whose prophecy is quoted in Matthew, and is probably the source of the original sermon.

The Prophet plays in the other English cycles are much closer to the sermon. The prophecy of Habakkuk included in the sermon is found in this cycle in the *Nativity Play*, Y. III, 136 ff.

1-12. This explanation of the cause of the coming of Christ is probably suggested to the 16th-century author by the introductory lines to T. I, which, in turn, may have been suggested by the first part of C. I.

15. Amos first appears in the Rouen *Festum Asinorum* (see Du Cange, *Glossarium*), which is really a liturgical drama on the prophets, and derives its name from the presence of Balaam's ass. Amos' prophecy there consists merely of the words, 'Ecce dies veniunt,' taken from Amos 9.13. His prophecy is second, following that of Moses. See C. V, 46-49, note.

Amos also appears, this time as first prophet, in the *Mist. d. l. Nat.*, p. 12. He there says:

J'ay en mon cuer jà piecà mis
 Une merveille que je vous diray,
 Vous savez bien et c'est tout vray,
 Et hoc scio ita esse,
 De la ligniée de Jessé
 Une vierge sy doit issir,
 Et celle vierge doit flourir,
 Et après tel fruit portera
 Qui le peuple confortera.

17 ff. No such prophecy in Amos. In the Augustinian sermon, Ps. 73. 12 is quoted just before the prophecy of

Isaiah; this reads: 'Operatus est salutem in medio terræ.' The confusion may have arisen through the fact of Amos' being first prophet in some versions, and this being the first prophecy in others. There are similar passages in Ps. 97. 3 and Isa. 52. 10, but I see no reason for connecting either of them with Amos.

25-30. St. Bernard (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 183. 66), under the heading 'Quare "virginem desponsatam"?' writes: 'Oportebat autem a principe mundi aliquamdiu celari divini consilii sacramentum: non quod Deus, si palam opus suum facere vellet, impediri posse ab illo metueret, sed quia ipse, qui non solum potenter, sed etiam sapienter quæcunque voluit fecit. . . . Placuit ei tamen eo potius et modo et ordine hominem sibi reconciliare, quo noverat cecidisse: ut sicut diabolus prius seduxit feminam, et postmodum virum per feminam vicit, ita prius a femina virgine seduceretur, et post a viro Christo aperte debellaretur.' This is the second reason St. Bernard gives, the first being the common one that it was necessary to save Mary from being stoned as an adulteress.

In the York *Harrowing of Hell* we have the same idea. In ll. 249-252 Christ, addressing Satan, says:

Mi godhede here I hidde
In Mary modir myne,
For it shoulde not be kidde
To the nor to none of thine.

Also *Cursor Mundi* ll. 10783 ff.

And thar is resuns written sere
Quar-for godd wald sco spused were.
The first the feind suld noght perceiue
That a maiden suld consaie,
For had he ani-wais ouertaine
A child be born of a maiden,
Ne had he neuer giuen his rede
That iesus crist war don to dede,
for wel he wald ha witen than
that he suld haf saued man.

Cf. Ch. II, 524-527.

St. Augustine, *Sermo CXIII De Annuntiatione* (Migne,

Patr. Lat. 39. 2103) says that Christ took upon him the form of man to deceive the devil.

33 ff. Abraham appears as first prophet in the Old French *Mistère d'Adam* (ed. Palustre, p. 110). He repeats the same verse from Gen. 22. 18 as here.

Sepet's theory that all the Old Testament plays are merely outgrowths from the Prophet play is well illustrated by the Abraham plays in England. In the Chester *Sacrifice of Isaac*, for example, we find not merely the promise of many descendants to Abraham, but also this very prophecy. God says to Abraham, Ch. 4, 174-176:

Kingis of thie seed men shall see,
And one childe of great degree
All mankind shall forbye.

Later, ll. 205-208, the Expositor explains:

And one seede, mankinde to forby,
that was Jhesus Christ witterlye,
for of his kinde was our lady
and so also was he.

40 ff. This prayer is Isaac's, not Abraham's. It is from Gen. 27. 28, where Isaac is blessing Jacob by mistake; it is in no way a prophecy, but merely an individual blessing upon Jacob. Isaac says:

'Det tibi Deus de rore cæli et de pinguedineterræ abundantiam frumenti et vini.'

This blessing appears in T. 5, 8 ff., and there is no indication that it is considered as a prophecy there. Indeed the adaptation of this blessing seems to be quite original with the author of Y.

57-58. Isaiah 7. 14. According to the text it is still Abraham who gives all these following prophecies. It is difficult to account for such carelessness and inaccuracy of reference. Possibly the author, in copying some Prophet play, failed to notice the assignment of parts, generally written in the margin so as not to interfere with the text, and wrote steadily along, paraphrasing or translating the text. Such an error was made by Halliwell in his edition of the *Coventry Plays*; see C. II, 67, Variants.

61 ff. This prophecy, the most definite of all, is found in almost every account of the birth of Christ from the Gospel of Matthew down. It is the only prophecy in this prologue which is in the Augustinian sermon. It is found in Isa. 7. 14.

In the *Mist. d. l. Nat.*, p. 43, Sartan relates these prophecies to Cesar. He says:

Dont nous trouvons en Ysaie
 Qui disoit en sa prophécie
 Ecce Virgo concipiet
 Atque filium pariet.
 Véez-cy, la Vierge concevra
 Un filz et sy le portera,
 Celuy sera le bien eslire,
 Et le bien du mal contredire.
 Emmanuel nommé sera,
 Lez bonz et mauvaiz jugera.
 En un autre lieu est escript,
 Et ne le tenez pas en despit,
 Que de l'arbre Jessé vendra
 Une verge qui florira.

65-70. Isaiah 9. 7.

75-80. Isaiah 11. 1-2, 'Egredietur virga de Jesse et flos de radice eius ascendet. Et requiescat super eum spiritus Domini.' This prophecy supplanted the Ecce Virgo in the St. Martial liturgical play. It is part of the Christmas liturgy, and its addition to the other is quite natural.

In the Coventry *Play of the Prophets* we find this prophecy following the Ecce Virgo, as follows:

A blyssyd braunche shal sprynge of me,
 That shal be swettere than bawmys brethe;
 Out of that braunche in Nazareth
 A floure shall blome of me, Jesse rote,
 The which by grace shal destroye dethe,
 And brynge mankinde to blysse most sote.

85-91. Not Joel, but Hosea 14. 6. The quotation should be, 'Ero quasi ros, Israel germinabit sicut lilium.' The prophecy of Joel in most of the plays is from Joel 2. 28, 'Ef-fundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem.' Cf. the Coventry *Play of the Prophets*, and the Chester *Balaam and Balak*.

113-118. It is rather remarkable that this very direct prophecy from Gen. 49. 10 should not appear elsewhere in the Prophet plays.

123-124. This prophecy from Mark 1. 2 is quoted there from Malachi 3. 1, although attributed by Mark to Isaiah. The similar passage from Luke 1. 76, 'Tu puer propheta Altissimi vocaberis; præibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias suas,' is quoted in the Augustinian sermon, and is the prophecy of Zacharias.

129-132. Matt. 3. 11. A similar prophecy is given to John the Baptist in the sermon, where the author quotes Mark 1. 7, and Luke 3. 16: 'Ecce venit post me de cujus pedibus non sum ego dignus solvere corrigiam calceamenti ejus.'

132-192. A remarkably close paraphrase of Luke 1. 26-28. The author acknowledges his source in l. 134, and seems to have made use of no other. For the Scriptural text, see notes on Ch. I, 1 ff.

144. Miss Smith, editor of the *York Cycle*, notes that after the prologue the rest of the piece seems to be irregular in the arrangement of the 6- and 8-syllable lines. Kölbing, in *Englische Studien* 21. 162-176, suggests many rather absurd emendations to make them all 8-syllable lines. See Variants.

177-184. Cf. Ch. I, 27-40, note; C. I, 249-257; T. I, 125-142.

193-204. This is the first break from the account in Luke 1. Lines 193-196 are apparently original, and 197-204 a sort of improvisation on Luke 1. 40.

205-216. Paraphrase of Luke 1. 42-43.

217-224. Another rather inartistic and useless insertion. It is probably introduced to make a break in Elizabeth's speech, for in l. 225 she proceeds as in Luke.

225-240. Luke 1. 45-47. Notice that only the first two verses of the Magnificat are translated, and then comes the stage-direction: 'Tunc cantant Magnificat.' The verb in the plural would show that they sang it antiphonally as in C. III, and in the liturgical play on the Visitation (see Introd. p. xiii).

YORK JOSEPH (II).

1 ff. Taylor (*Mod. Phil.* July 1907, p. 6) suggests that this and similar passages in the Mysteries were definitely influenced by the popular Middle English 'Complaints' of old men. He does not present, and I have been unable to discover, any direct influence, but it is doubtless true that they belong to the same type of literature; the full bibliography that he gives is interesting for comparative study. A typical specimen of the 'Old Man's Complaint' is in *Anglia* 3. 279 ff.

25-34. This account of the choice of Joseph as husband to the Virgin is in the *Protev.* 8, 9; *Pseudo-Matt.* 8; and *De Nat. Mar.* 7, 8. Only in the latter, however, is the flowering of the rods mentioned. In the others a dove descends. The *De Nat. Mar.* interprets the flowering of the rod as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah: 'A rod shall go forth out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall arise from his root.' Isa. 11. 1. Cf. *Cursor Mundi* 10. 774: 'With leaf and flower they found it green.'

In Giotto's fresco in Padua of the Marriage of the Virgin, there are both the flowering rod and the descent of the dove. In Raphael's *Lo Sposalizio*, at the Brera in Milan, the dove does not appear.

Cf. T. I, 227-268, also C. 10.

32. In C. 10 the rod blossoms, and the 'Holy Ghost sits on the bough.'

49-50. In the Apocryphal Gospels (*Protev.* 15, 16; *Pseudo-Matt.* 12), Mary's pregnancy is discovered by the priest, and Mary and Joseph are brought to trial for transgressing the law of Israel. They are acquitted, however, when after drinking the 'water of cursing' there are no ill effects. This material is used in a very coarse play in the *Coventry Cycle* on the trial of Joseph and Mary, C. 14. For 'water of cursing,' see Numbers 5. 17.

57 ff. Concerning Joseph's determination not to run away, see note to C. II, 59 ff.

61-62. Germanus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 72. 325): 'Mary, "Is it not written in the prophets that a virgin shall conceive

and bear a son?"' This is perhaps the most significant parallel to the dialogues in the Church Fathers; see note on C. II, 25 ff.

72-73. In the *Cursor Mundi* Joseph makes a long lament, similar to the one here, and then also determines to 'stele awaye' without seeing Mary.

76. *Puella*. See note on C. II, 3.

81. A charming anachronism, and a favorite representation of the Virgin in mediæval art. Cf. Raphael's Madonna of the Goldfinch.

92 ff. See note on C. II, 25 ff.

136-137. See note on C. II, 71 ff.

200-201. Joseph is in danger of punishment for breaking his vow to keep Mary a virgin. Cf. note on ll. 49-50.

231-236. See ll. 202-208, and cf. C. II, 127-136.

294-298. Cf. C. II, 184-188.

YORK NATIVITY (III).

1. Beginning *in mediis rebus*; no introductory description of the edict from Augustus and the trip to Bethlehem, as in the other plays. The effect is not satisfactory, however, for no connection with what has gone before is implied, and the spectators' knowledge of the story is relied upon to fill in the gaps.

14. Again following Luke and the liturgical drama, instead of the Apocryphal Gospels, which make the stable only a cave by the roadside.

18. The roof is ruined by rain.

43-44. *Mist. d. l. Nat.* p. 60:

Nostre-Dame: Joseph, se Diex vous puist secourir.
Alez bien tost du feu quérir.

.

Joseph: Volontiers j'yray du feu prendre
En l'hostel de ce marichal.

57 ff. Cf. C. V, 90 ff., note.

71. Cf. in T. IV, 1 this idea of English Christmas weather.

78. The light appears in both Apocryphal Gospels and in C. IV, 172. Notice here the extraordinary absence of the midwives, showing not only the author's independence of the Apocryphal Gospels, but also of the liturgical Christmas plays. It is more probable that this author was working directly on the Scriptural account than that any of the others were.

84 ff. Notice the naturalness and simple beauty of this scene, and its great superiority to the Nativity-scenes in the other cycles, where we have philosophical reasoning about the virgin birth, and the long description of Salome's doubt, punishment, and forgiveness. This scene is the Y. dramatist's high-water mark.

99-105. The prophecy of Balaam is in Numbers 24. 17: 'There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' There is no reference to a child born of a maiden, as our text would imply. This prophecy plays a most important part in the development of the religious drama. It was first introduced in the Rouen *Prophet Play* (see note on Y. I, 15), the *Festum Asinorum*. The ass, lending a comic element to the play, became very popular, and many Balaam plays developed in the liturgical as well as in the vernacular drama. An English example is the fifth play of the *Chester Cycle* (cf. C. V, 26-29; Y. IV, 14 ff.). Ch. 5, 289-304:

Balaam: Now one thing will I tell you all
hereafter what shall befall:
a starre of Jacob springe shall,
a man of Israel.

He shall overcome and have in band
all kinges, dukes of strang land,
and all the world have in his hand
as lord to dight and deale.

Esayas: I saye a mayden meeke and mylde
shall conceive and bear a childe,
cleane without workes wilde,
to wyn mankinde to wele.

These two prophecies are confused and both attributed to Balaam in this play, probably because they were often quoted together, as in Ch. Isaiah's prophecy is in Isa. 7. 14 ff. Cf. Y. I, 61-68.

136-140. A misreading of Habakkuk 3. 2, in the Alexandrine version, quoted in *Pseudo-Matt.* 13 as 'in medio animalium' instead of 'in medio annorum.' The misreading is also quoted in the Augustinian *Sermo contra Judæos*. The ox and the ass became known as the animals referred to because of Isa. 1. 3: 'The ox doth know his owner and the ass his master's crib.' This is also quoted in *Pseudo-Matt.* 13.

The widespread popularity of this version, probably due to its being included in *Pseudo-Matt.*, is attested by the countless number of ancient and modern paintings of the scene in the stable in which the ox and ass appear.

YORK SHEPHERDS (IV).

The first part of this play lacks all the charm that the last part, ll. 86-130, possesses. The author seems to ramble on for a long time before he strikes his gait.

5-12. Why these two prophets are chosen to represent the rest is not clear. There is no such prophecy in Hosea. Cf. note on Y. I, 85-91.

14 ff. The prophecy of Balaam, appearing again in the *Shepherd Play*. Cf. C. V, 26-29; Y. III, 99-195, and note.

34. *flitte*. An appropriate word; one meaning being to shift a tethered animal, or to move a sheepcote.

60-64. Cf. Ch. II, 358-435, and note.

81. Cf. Ch. II, 300, note.

82-85. Cf. Ch. II, 442-447, and note.

86. From here on the style, structure, and spirit of the play seem to improve. The presentation of gifts is very good in its homely realism, and affords a good contrast with the more dignified scene in the Coventry *Shepherd Play*.

94. Cf. Y. III, 136-140, and note.

103. Cf. Ch. II, 559, and note. The meaning of this line has caused much discussion, and given rise to many unnecessary emendations; see Variants. I see no reason against reading it as it stands, its meaning being 'A poor (*or* mere) brooch with (*or* and) a tin bell.'

105-107. Cf. Ch. II, 560, and note.

114-118. Cf. Ch. II, 560, and note.

124. Cf. Ch. II, 571-572.

TOWNELEY ANNUNCIATION (I).

1-52. Another introductory passage on the reason for the Incarnation: man has lain years in the pains of hell because of Adam's sin; to save him God must send his Son to earth to suffer for man, so that the redemption may be 'wyth reson and wyth right,' as well as 'through mercy and through might' (ll. 19-20), thus suggesting at least the fundamental element of the Coventry Mercy and Peace, Righteousness and Truth prologue; cf. C. I.

In ll. 40-52 the prophet element is introduced, and combined with the other. This prologue is therefore typical of two of the popular elements in the Christmas plays.

9-15. Cf. in C. M. Gayley's *Plays of our Forefathers* the chapter on 'Oil of Mercy.'

The ultimate source of this idea is in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 19: 'Seth dixit: . . . "Ego, Seth, cum essem orans dominum ad portas paradisi, ecce angelus domini Michael apparuit mihi dicens 'Ego missus sum ad te a domino. . . Tibi dico enim, Seth, noli laborari lacrimis orando et deprecando propter oleum ligni misericordiae, ut perungas patrem tuum Adam pro dolore corporis sui, quia nullo modo poteris ex eo accipere nisi in novissimis diebus et temporibus, nisi quando completi fuerint quinque milia et quingenti anni; tunc veniet super terram amantissimus Dei filius ad resuscitandum corpus Adæ et corpora mortuorum, et ipse veniens in Jordane baptizabitur. Cum autem egressus fuerit de aqua Jordanis, tunc de oleo misericordiae suæ unget omnes cre-

dentes in se, et erit oleum illud misericordiæ in generationem eorum qui nascendi sunt ex aqua et spiritu sancto in vitam eternam. Tunc descendens in terras amantissimus Dei filius Christus Jesus introducet patrem nostrum Adam in paradysum ad arborem misericordiæ.'”

Cf. for similar versions of this legend *Cursor Mundi* and the *South English Legendary* (EETS. 87), part 10, ll. 131 ff.

Several of the later plays are taken from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

12. Cf. preceding note. Evidently from the figures in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, rather than from any of the countless mediæval computations; see note on C. I, 1.

32–34. St. Chrysostom (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 52. 768): ‘Pro Eva Maria, pro ligno scientiæ boni et mali lignum crucis, pro morte Adami mors Domini.’ The idea of Christ as a second Adam goes back to St. Paul, I Corinthians 15. 45; for the idea of Mary as a second Eve, see note on C. I, 217; the ‘tree for tree’ comes from the *Gospel of Nicodemus* 24, where Christ, in harrowing hell, says: ‘Come with me all ye who have died through the tree which Adam touched. For behold, I raise you up through the tree of the cross.’ This does not appear in the MS. which is the basis of the Tischendorf edition of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, but is given in the variants. I quote from Cowper’s translation. Cf. the Middle English translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, ll. 1471–1476 (EETS. Ex. Ser. 100).

41–51. The patriarchs and prophets, at least through Jeremiah, seem to follow in some recognized regular order, or at least in the same order in which they appear in the Old Testament plays and Plays of the Prophets in the English cycles. In the *Coventry Plays* we have a *Play of Abraham*, followed by a *Play of Moses and the Ten Commandments*, followed by a *Prophet Play*, in which the first three prophets are Isaiah, David, Jeremiah; cf. C. 5, 6, 7. In the *Chester Plays*, Abraham and Moses come in order, then the *Balaam Play* is introduced, followed by prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and David. In this cycle, T., the order is Abraham, Moses, David, and the Sibyl.

41. For the prophecy of Abraham, see Y. I, 33 ff., and note.

47. The prophecy of Moses is from Deut. 18. 15, 19 (misquoted in T. 7, 1-4): 'Prophetam de gente tua et de fratribus tuis sicut me, suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus: ipsum audies . . . Qui autem verba eius audire noluerit ego ultor existam.' The 'nemo propheta' of T. 7, 4 is from Mark 6. 4.

For the prophecies of Isaiah, see Y. I, 61 ff.

48. David's prophecies as given in the Towneley *Prophet Play* are: 'Omnes reges adorabunt eum, omnes gentes seruient eum', and 'Ostende nobis misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da nobis.'

The prophecy of Jeremiah, according to the Augustinian sermon, is from the *Book of Baruch* 3. 36, 38: 'Hic est Deus noster, et non æstimabitur alius absque illo, qui invenit omnem viam scientiæ, et dedit eam Jacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est.' According to Ch. 5, 329, however, the prophecy is from Jer. 14. 17: 'Deducunt oculi mei lacrimas, etc.,' thus perhaps showing a relation in the origin of the Coventry prologue to the *Annunciation*; cf. C. I, 25, and the *Prophet Plays*.

49. The prophecy of Habakkuk, as given in the Augustinian sermon, is from Hab. 3. 2: 'Domine, audiui auditum tuum et timui; consideravi opera tua, Domine, et expavi. In medio duorum animalium cognosceris.' For the misreading in the last sentence, see note on Y. III, 136-140.

The prophecy of Daniel, according to the sermon, and also as given in T. 7, 217, is from Dan. 9. 24: 'Cum venerit Sanctus sanctorum cessabit unctio vestra.' The passage really reads: 'Finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas et adducatur iustitia sempiterna et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungatur Sanctus sanctorum.'

50. This cycle is the only English one in which the Sibyl's famous prophecy is introduced. (This, the Erythræan Sibyl, to be distinguished from the Tiburtine Sibyl in Ch. I.) Her prophecy is the last one in the Augustinian sermon, and is

an acrostic, the initial letters of each line spelling: Ἰησοῦς Χρίστος, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σῶτηρ.

The first three lines, translated into Latin, are quoted in the *Prophet Play* of this cycle :

Judicii signum, tellus sudore madescet,
E celo rex adveniet per sæcla futurus,
Scilicet in carne præsens ut judicat orbem.

This prophecy originated in Book 8, ll. 217–250 of the so-called *Oracula Sibyllina*, supposedly by Sibylla Erythræa, but actually composed in, probably, the 2nd century. Augustine quotes it in *De Civ. Dei* 18. 23. See note on Ch. I, 304–375, where Martinus attributes this prophecy to the Tiburtine Sibyl.

53–60. The beginning of the play proper, very close to C. I, 187–194; also cf. Y. I, 135–149. All from Luke 1. 26–27.

61–64. A favorite comparison among the Church Fathers, growing naturally out of the idea of Mary as a second Eve; cf. note on ll. 32–34, and see chaps. 1 and 2 of Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers*.

70. This idea of Mary's conceiving Christ through the word of the angel is often compared with Eve's conceiving sin through the word of the serpent; cf. ll. 61–64, note.

77–154. The most elaborate paraphrase that we have of Luke 1. 28–38, although the Coventry *Annunciation* is longer, as it introduces much extraneous theological material. Compared with the simple and natural account in Ch. and Y., this seems rather forced and weak.

119–124. Cf. C. I, 247–248, and note.

125–142. Cf. Ch. 8, 27–40, notes; C. I, 249–257; Y. I, 177–184.

155–173. This version of the *Joseph Play* is the best one we have. It is worked out in detail, as it is not in Ch., it lacks the formlessness and much repetition of the C. play, and has far better dramatic structure than the Y. play. The material is much the same as that of the Y. play, and was probably taken from it; but the dramatist has succeeded in getting good effect by plunging *in medias res*, and then

most naturally making Joseph recall aloud to himself how he met Mary, how he was chosen to be her husband, and how happily they have lived together. Joseph shows a deep love and gentle consideration for Mary, which are very charming after the anger and coarseness of the C. and Y. *Joseph Plays*. Cf. Ch. I, 123 ff.; C. II, 25 ff.; Y. II, 92 ff.

159. Hohlfeld (*Anglia* 11. 254) gives a series of parallel passages between Y. and T. in the *Joseph Plays*. I shall hereafter merely give the reference to the parallel in Y., without always quoting Hohlfeld's name. The parallel here is Y. II, 106.

169. Cf. Y. II, 197.

180, 181. Cf. Y. II, 92, 292.

185-195. Cf. Ch. I, 124-136, and note on 123-176; C. II, 36-48, and note on 25 ff.; Y. II, 103-108.

186-187. Hohlfeld gives as a parallel Y. II, 158-159. This is hardly significant, however, for cf. C. II, 36-38, 42, 47-48.

195. Cf. Y. II, 103, but see also note on 186-187.

204-205. Cf. Y. II, 189, but see also C. II, 39, 40.

226-227. Notice the clever transition to the story of their betrothal.

227-268. Cf. Y. II, 21-34, and note on Y. II, 25-34.

250. Cf. Y. II, 30.

269-274. *Pseudo-Matt.* 8: 'Tunc accepit Joseph Mariam cum aliis quinque virginibus quæ essent cum ea in domo Joseph, . . . quibus datum est a pontificibus sericum et jacinthum et byssus et coccus et purpura et linum. Miserunt autem sortes inter se quid unaquæque virgo faceret; contigit autem ut Maria purpurum acciperit ad velum templi Domini.'

271. In C. 10, *three* maidens are sent with Mary by the high priest, who says:

Joseph, thiselph art old of age
And thi wiff of age is zonge,
And, as we rede in old sage,
Many man is sclepyr of tonge.
Therefore evyl langage to asswage
That your good fame may leste longe,
iij damyselys shul dwell with zow in stage
With thi wyff to be evyrmore amonge.

The three maidens are Susanna, Rebecca, and Sephor. Notice that Sephor and Susanna are the only ones mentioned in C. II, 3 and 67.

281. So in *Pseudo-Matt.* 10, but cf. Ch. I, 129, note.

292. Proclus (*Patr. Gr.* 65. 736): 'Dost thou think that by this prodigality of words thou canst deceive the understanding of my white head?' See note on C. II, 25 ff.

293-298. Cf. Y. II, 134-142; C. II, 71-77, note.

299-304. Joseph's proverbial mildness is very effective here. He feels deeply, but is restrained by his love for Mary from betraying her to the "bishop," not by his fear of being punished himself as in so many of the plays.

305-310. St. Augustine (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 39. 2108): 'Joseph: "I have not known her, I have not touched her. Alas, what hath happened? Through whom hath she so fallen?"'

314-320. A very unusual and rather beautiful idea; cf. the baldness and ineffectiveness of a similar idea in Y. II, 61-64.

321-325. Notice the absence on Joseph's part of even a momentary impulse to betray Mary, even when he is most wrought up, and his simple resolve just to slip away.

338-340. Cf. C. II, 178-179.

368. Chaucer, *Clerk's Tale* 1155: 'Be ay of chere as light as leef on linde.' Langland, *Piers Pl.* B. 1. 154: 'Was never lef lyghter on lynde.'

TOWNELEY VISITATION (II).

1-30. This family gossip, though adding a touch of realism, is exceedingly inartistic, and entirely ruins what should be the great dramatic effect of Elizabeth's greeting, namely its spontaneity and inevitableness when Mary first approaches her. As a result of the introductory lines the *Benedicta tu* and the *Magnificat* seem to be brought in merely as a convention, and to have nothing to do with the play itself.

22-23. The names of Mary's parents are recorded in the *Protev.* 1, 2 and in *Pseudo-Matt.* 1 and *De Nat. Mar.* 1. These were accepted as their true names by St. Chrysostom.

23. *Nese* merely signifies kinswoman, at this time; its present limited meaning did not arise until after 1600. The relationship of Mary and Elizabeth is not recorded in Scripture; they are simply called kinswomen; the author of this play, however, shows in l. 79 that he considers Elizabeth to be Mary's aunt. I have been unable to discover any authority for this relationship.

According to the *Menologium Basilianum*, quoted in Assemani, *Kalendaria Eccles. Univ.* 6, on July 25, Anna's sister Sobe was the mother of Elizabeth. Mary and Elizabeth would, according to this account, therefore be cousins.

There are two English references to this relationship, almost contemporaneous with our play; both make the relationship the same, though each has a different name for Elizabeth's mother. Higden, *Polychronicon* 4. 246, quotes Jerome: 'Anna et Emeria fuerunt sorores. De Emeria nata est Elizabeth, Anna suscepit Mariam.' I have been unable to find any such statement in Jerome. The *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 10149 ff., however, gives the same account, with a slight change in Emeria's name, but does not quote its source:

Ismaria and Anna war tua
Sisters, I wene, withuten ma,
the foremast bar Elizabeth,
An hali leuedi mild and methe.

31-48. Cf. C. III, 57 ff., note; Ch. I, 50-64; Y. I, 205-216.

49-78. *The Magnificat*. Cf. Ch. I, 69-108; C. III, 82-117; Y. I, 237-240, note.

79. Cf. note on l. 23.

TOWNELEY SHEPHERDS (III).

1 ff. This type of lyric, emphasizing by antithesis the variableness of life, is very common in Middle English poetry (cf. Taylor in *Mod. Phil.* July 1907, p. 10). *The Sayings of*

St. Bernard, translated into English (EETS. *Vernon Ms. II*, pp. 515, 692) furnish good examples:

Vnstable is thi lyf I-diht,
Now art thou heuy, now artou liht,
Nou thou richest, and nou thou porest,
Nou thou sek, nou thou rekeuerest.

and:

I wolde witten of sum wys wiht
Witterly what this world were;
It fareth as a foules fliht,
Now is it henne, now is hit here.
Ne be we neuer so muche of miht,
Now be we on benche, now be we on bere,
And be we neuer so war and wiht
Now be we sek, now beo we fere.

That such expressions of care and sorrow were popular also in continental Shepherd plays is evidenced by a Tyrolean play of the 15th or 16th century (ed. Weinhold, *Weihnacht-Spiele*, p. 153):

[1st Shepherd]: Ich lig jezt Tag und Nacht in Sorgen,
dass mir möcht heunt oder morgen.
Ich kann vor Frost nit schlafen gar,
Es steigt mir auf vom Kopf das Har,
Es hat mir ja der Wolf auch fert
drei gute Schaf nieder gemerrt.

[2nd Shepherd]: In grösten Sorgen auf freier Weid
lig ich bei Winters und Sommers Zeit,
in grösten Sorgen hab ich gewacht
in Wind und Schne bei Tag und Nacht,
in Gröstem Kummer und schwerer Not,
etc., etc.

1-25. Cf. Ch. II, 1-9; T. IV, 1-5, 123-128.

20. 'Whatever happens, I am sure to have trouble.'

38. 'By my wit to try to set the world in order.'

Cf. l. 487. Related to the expression 'at sixes and sevens,' meaning 'in disorder.' In l. 487, however, the meaning may be, 'who created all in seven days.'

64 ff. Cf. T. IV, 28-45, and note.

97-99. Quoted in John Ray's *Collection of Proverbs*, 1742.

100. Another proverb; see T. IV, 591, and note.

101-178. Eaton (*Mod. Lang. Notes* 14. 265) has shown that this very humorous episode is an old folk-tale, printed in Oesterley's *A Hundred Merry Tales* (1526), No. 24, and Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Jest-Books* 3. 4. It is one of the many tales fathered upon the 'fools of Gotham'; see l. 180, and note. This episode is one of the few things not recast for T. IV, where another folk-tale, the story of Mak, was substituted.

124. A singular expression, probably meaning 'a little grace.'

150-151. Meaning obscure; *hyte* (see *hail* in N. E. D.) is the exclamation used for urging on horses. This sentence may mean, therefore, 'it is fair to urge them on until it comes to a fight'; see Glossary.

180. This has become a proverbial expression, although here it is used as a specific reference; cf. note on ll. 101-178. The inhabitants of Gotham in Nottinghamshire achieved this reputation in the reign of King John, when, to ward off a threatened visit from the King, they pretended to be idiotic. Boyde, a native of the town, published in the 16th century a collection of the many tales of idiocy, which had been fathered upon his townsmen, under the title *The Merrie Tales of The Wise Men of Gotham*, and this did much to spread their fame.

188-190. Cf. T. IV, 177-182.

208-240. Cf. Ch. II, 101-136.

212 ff. Taylor (*Mod. Phil.* July 1907, p. 14) gives as a parallel to the grotesque meal of the shepherds a 'grotesque receipt' taken from *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* 1. 325:

Take nine pound of thunder, six legs of a swan,
 The wool of a frog,
 The juice of a log,
 Well parboiled together in the skin of a hog.

All this, however, seems to me to have less to do with the shepherds' meal than with the caldron scene in *Macbeth*. Cf. Ch. II, 113 ff.

242-262. Cf. Ch. II, 143-148.

244. Cf. Ch. II, 117, and note.

286. Cf. Ch. II, 673-675, and note.

291-295. Cf. T. IV, 264-268.

319-321. Cf. T. IV, 652-654.

321. Cf. Ch. II, 300, note.

332-403. The survival of the prophet element in Shepherd plays, the oldest form of Christmas drama, is interesting. The prophecies here follow the pseudo-Augustinian sermon very closely (cf. note on Y. I, 1-132) and, considering the wide divergence between the sermon and most late versions, we are safe in affirming that this passage shows direct influence of the sermon. Cf. also C. V, 26-60.

359-366. One of the most popular allegorical interpretations of Old Testament stories. Cf. Chaucer, *Prologe of the Prioresses Tale* l. 16:

O bush unbrent, brenninge in Moyses sighte!

And in the *A. B. C. to the Virgin*, ll. 89 ff.

Moises that saugh the bush with flaumes rede
Brenninge, of which ther never a stikke brende,
Was signe of thyn unwemmed maidenhede.

Thou art the bush on which ther gan descende
The Holy Gost, the which that Moyses wende
Had ben a-fyr; and this was in figure.

See also the index to Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers*, under *Mary as the burning bush*.

386-403. The inappropriateness of putting these prophecies into the mouths of shepherds is most apparent here. This quotation is from the fourth *Eclogue*. Cf. note on Y. I, 1-132.

392. The *Disticha de Moribus* of Dionysius Cato, a book of moral maxims, of the 3rd or 4th century, used throughout the Middle Ages as a text-book; hence, as here, standing for Latin in general.

413-430. Cf. Ch. II, 358-435, note; T. IV, 656-664.

413. Pollard explains: 'he brought 24 short notes to a long.'

453-457. Cf. Ch. II, 481-2, 549-551.

458 ff. Taylor (*Mod. Phil.* July 1907) gives several examples of the popular Middle English 'hail' lyrics. Cf. the other Shepherd plays: C. V, 90 ff., and note; Ch. II, 552 ff.; also Ch. II, 153-156; Y. 41, 320 ff., 46. 273 ff.

One of the many referred to by Taylor is quite close to this passage, and I quote it as a specimen (*Vernon MS.* I. 24, ed. EETS.):

Heil Ihesu, godus sone,
 Holigost from heuene i-come,
 Kyng thou art i-Coren.
 Heil mon of most miht,
 Godus sone that art so briht,
 Of Marie thou were boren.
 Heil God, best the be,
 heil blosme uppon tre,
 Heried beo thi sonde.
 Heil fruit, heil floure,
 Heil be thou, Saveour
 Of watur and of londe.
 Heil kyng, heil knyht,
 Heil mon of most miht,
 Prince in thi trone.
 Heil Duyk, heil Emperoure,
 Heil beo thou gouernour
 Of all this worldus wone.
 Heil flesch, heil blod,
 Heil mon of mylde mod,
 Heil beo thow kyng.
 Heil God flarest,
 Heil be thow, bern best,
 Thow madest alle thyng.
 Heil Rose vppon Rys,
 heil mon of most prys.
 ffor us thou were ded.
 Heil God ful of miht,
 Godus sone that art so briht,
 In fourme thow art of bred.

466. Cf. Ch. II, 559.

469. Milksop in a very unusual sense, merely signifying a small child.

482-483. This sounds like a proverb, but I have been unable to locate it elsewhere.

487. Cf. note on l. 38.

491, 495. Cf. Ch. II, 536-539, and note.

TOWNELEY SHEPHERDS (IV).

1-15. Cf. Ch. II, 1-9; T. III, 1-25; T. IV, 123-128.

10-45. An expansion of T. III, 28-36, on the oppression of the poor by the rich. To this is added the idea of the 'prowde swane' in T. III, 55-81; see note on ll. 28-45.

20. 'They make the plough stick fast, a contrast to the old toast "Speed the plough."'—Pollard.

28-45. Cf. T. III, 64 ff. Shakespeare's description of another 'prowde swane' of the same period is similar; cf. *I Henry IV*, I. 3. 30 ff.:

Came there a certain lord, neat, trimly drest,
Fresh as a bridegroom, and his chin new reap'd
Showed like a stubble-land at harvest-home;
He was perfumed like a milliner.

.....

..... and still he smiled and talked,
and as the soldiers bare dead bodies by,
He called them untaught knaves, unmannerly,
To bring a slovenly unhandsome corse
Between the wind and his nobility.
With many holiday and lady terms
He questioned me
I then, all smarting with my wounds being cold,
Out of my grief, and my impatience
To be so pestered with a popinjay,
Answered neglectingly

..... for he made me mad
To see him shine so brisk and smell so sweet
And talk so like a waiting-gentlewoman
Of guns and drums and wounds.

37. 'In the days of Sumptuary Laws an embroidered sleeve would presumably betoken a man of rank.'—Pollard. 'In England we hear much from writers of the 14th century of the extravagance of dress at that period. They remark both

on the great splendor and expensiveness of the apparel of the higher orders and on the fantastic and deforming fashions adopted by persons of all ranks. The parliament held at Westminster in 1363 made laws (37 Edw. III. c. 8-14) to restrain this undue expenditure, and to regulate the dress of the various classes of the people. . . . They seem, however, to have had little effect, for in the reign of Richard II the same excesses prevailed, apparently to an even greater degree.'—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, under *Sumptuary Laws*.

46-54. Good transition; the shepherd laughs off his too serious arraignment of society, very much in Chaucer's manner.

60 ff. Cf. T. III, 1 ff., and note.

64-108. Another expansion of material from T. III; cf. ll. 96-99. The idea of a shrewish wife seems to appeal to our author; he dwells on it at length later on, in the Mak interlude; cf. also Ch. II, 85-90.

123-128. Cf. Ch. II, 1-9; T. III, 1-25, IV, 1-15.

127. *noe floode* = Noah's flood.

154-171. Cf. Ch. II, 165-177, 218-225.

177-182. Cf. T. III, 188-190.

190-637. This, the famous Mak interlude, in substance and in dramatic form is not only the high-water mark of the Towneley dramatist, but of all the English mysteries. It is the first really well developed dramatic plot in the language, and compares very favorably with any subsequent farce.

Koch, in an article on *Archie Armstrong's Aith*, printed in the EETS. ed. of the *Towneley Plays*, has called attention to the similarity between the story of Mak and a poem published in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (5th ed., Edinburgh, 1812, 3. 481) by the Rev. John Marriott. In a note to the poem Marriott says that the legend 'has been preserved by tradition, and is at this time current in Eskdale.'

It seems quite probable that this is true, although Pollard points out that Dr. William Marriott printed the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* a few years after the appearance of John Marriott's poem, that he may have been a relation,

and that the Reverend John may therefore have had access to the Towneley MS., and stolen his plot from our play. It seems much more plausible, however, that this is an old legend which was used by the author of the *Towneley Plays* in the 14th century, which survived in folk-lore, and was later fathered upon the notorious court jester of the 17th century, Archie Armstrang, and finally was used by Marriott as matter for his poem in the 19th century. The fact that the best part of the story, the return of the shepherds after we think the suspense is over, is omitted in Marriott's version should tend to show not only that he was not plagiarizing, but also that that element is not contained in the folk-lore version, but was original with the Towneley dramatist.

Parallel passages are given in the notes following.

190. In Rabbinical literature there are seven sacred names of God, El, Elohim, Adonai, YHWH, Ehyeh-Asher-Ehyeh, Shaddai, and Zebaoth. In Christian literature I have been unable to find this number; Jerome gives ten names of God in one place, and Junilius gives eight. There seems, therefore, to have been discussion in the mediæval church on this point, and it is rather strange not to find mention of seven, as seven is the mystical sacred number.

229. This proverb is quoted in Ray's *Collection* (1737) as 'Seldome lies the devil dead in a ditch.' The Scotch form is, 'It's lang ere the deil dee by the dykeside.'

Ray expounds: 'We are not to trust the devil or his children though they seem never so harmless. . . . The ancients said "Mulieri ne credas ne mortuæ quidem." . . . Perhaps the proverb may allude to the fox who escaped by feigning himself dead. I know of no phrase more frequent in the mouths of French and Italians than "The devil is dead," to signify that a difficulty is almost conquered.'

236-252. Cf. ll. 404-421. Suggestion of this theme in Ch. II, 85-90.

251-252. 'To pay her funeral expenses'; cf. similar idea in T. 3, 388-392, by the same author (see Int. p. xlii).

262. Mak is a suspicious character, and the shepherds

insist upon his lying between them, so that they may notice if he stirs. Archie is also of a bad reputation; cf. *A. A. A.*, stanza 16:

Aft ha' ye thinned our master's herds,
And elsewhere cast the blame.

264–268. Cf. T. III, 291–295.

308 ff. *Archie Armstrong's Ailth* (*A. A. A.*), st. 6 ff.:

And oh! when he stepped o'er the door,
His wife she looked agast.

A! wherefore, Archie, would ye slight
Ilk word of timely warning?
I trow ye will be ta'en the night,
And hangit i' the morning.

Now haud your tongue, ye prating wife,
And help me as ye dow;
I wald be laith to lose my life
For ae poor silly yowe.

317–319. *Ayenbite of Inwynt*:

Take this prouethe for a token,
The pot so often goeth forth
At last it commeth home broken.

Also in Hazlitt's *Fugitive Tracts, Envoye from T. Smyth*:

'Tant va le pot al ewe quil brise.'

330–331. Meaning rather obscure: *by* = abide, *war* = worse. Mak seems to be trying to say: 'Then might I expect, from all the crowd, the devil of a hard time.'

332–335. *A. A. A.*, st. 12:

The cradle stans by the ingle toom,
The bairn wi' auntie stays;
They clapt the carcase in its room,
And smoored it wi' the claes.

376–385. Mak's pretended waking is admirably done, not at all exaggerated, and quite convincing to us as well as to the shepherds.

403. 'The crooked thorn, probably the Shepherd's Thorn near Horbury in Mapplewell.'—Chambers. See *Horbury Shroges* in l. 455.

404-421. Cf. ll. 236-252, and note.

440-442. *A. A. A.*, st. 13 ff.:

And down sat Archie daintilie,
And rocked it wi' his hand,
Siccan a rough nourice as he
Was not i a' the land.

And saftelie he gan to croon,
Hush, hushabye, my dear.
He had na sang to sic a tune
I trow for many a year.

455. Horbury, a town in Yorkshire, near Wakefield.

476-477. Koch calls attention to the occurrence of the rime 'tune'—'croon' in *A. A. A.*, st. 14; see note on ll. 440-442.

483-485. *A. A. A.*, st. 17, Archie says:

But haud your tonges for mercies sake
The bairn's just at the dying.

514-515. *A. A. A.*, st. 19:

But gin ye reck na what I swear,
Go search the biggin thorow,
And if ye find ae trotter there
Then hang me up the morrow.

535-538. *A. A. A.*, st. 18:

If e'er I did sae fause a feat
As thin my neebor's faulds,
May I be doomed the flesh to eat
This vera cradle halds.

542. *A. A. A.*, st. 20:

They thought to find the stolen gear,
They searched baith but and ben,
But a' was clean and a' was clear,
And naething could they ken.

551. Koch calls attention to the parallel in *A. A. A.*, st. 22:

Or aiblins Maggie's ta'en the yowe
And thus beguiled your e'e.

562-563. Gybon Waller and John Horne, the first and second shepherds in T. III, 82-84. Parkyn is perhaps the surname of Slowpace, the third shepherd, T. III, 125.

569-628. This, the cleverest part of the farce, is probably original with our author; see note on ll. 190-637. In *A. A. A.* the shepherds do not discover Mak, first or last. The method of discovery used by the T. dramatist is far more effective than a discovery on the first visit would have been. Relief from suspense is immediately followed by greater suspense.

591-592. Cf. T. III, 100, evidently a popular proverb, found also in *Everyman*, l. 316.

602-604. An unexpected bit of cleverness, one of the most humorous touches. The staccato character of the shepherd's ejaculations in l. 604b is very effective; one can almost hear the laugh.

631. That is, a sheep weighing 140 lbs.

638-646. A re-casting of T. III, 296-304; cf. particularly 642 and 300, 646 and 304.

652-654. Cf. T. III, 319-321.

654. Cf. Ch. II, 300, note.

656-664. Cf. Ch. II, 358-435, and note; T. III, 413-430.

674-682. An abbreviation of T. III, 332-403 (see note). Cf. C. V, 26-60, and note; Y. IV, 5-12.

692-696. Cf. T. III, 441-448.

710 ff. Cf. Ch. II, 552 ff.; C. V, 90 ff., and note; T. III, 458 ff., and note. Only in a few places, however, does T. IV follow T. III.

718. Cf. note on Ch. II, 559.

724-725. Cf. T. III, 467 a, 470 a.

736. 'Tennis was a fashionable game in France at the end of the 14th century (cf. the Dauphin's gift of tennis balls to our Henry V), and was well known in England at about the same time. In the *Romance of the Turke and Gawin* it is alluded to as having been played by Arthur's knights:

Thou shalt see a tennisse ball,
That never knight in Arthur's hall
Is able to give it a lout.'—Pollard.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that tennis is the oldest of all existing ball-games, that its origin is unknown, but

that it was popular all through the Middle Ages and probably came from Italy.

737-754. Notice the resemblance, not only in arrangement but also in matter, to T. III, 485-502, particularly

ll. 737-485, 738^a-487^b, 738^a-486^b, 742-490, 744-491.

744. Cf. Ch. II, 536-539, note.

GLOSSARY

a, *v.*, have: C. II, 163, 165, 202.

abhomyaby, *adj.*, abominable: C. I, 98. [Incorrectly derived from *ab* + *homo* = away from man, hence beastly, unnatural; the correct derivation is from *ab* + *omen* = ill omened. This false derivation caused a material change in the meaning.]

abought, *adv.*, about: C. III, 65.

abuf, *adv.*, above: T. II, 49.

aby, *v.*, pay the penalty, expiate: Y. II, 111; T. IV, 272.

wait: Ch. I, 184. [This form arises from confusion of *aby* and *abyde*. **aby** is from OE. *ābycgan*, sometimes *abuggen* in ME.]

abyde, *v.*, wait: Ch. II, 129, 605; T. III, 119, 198, 270, 433, 450, IV, 49, 148, 574, 683; expect, await: Ch. I, 447; C. II, 133, IV, 94, 116; Y. I, 117.

achesonne, *n.*, reason: Y. IV, 80.

[OF. *acheson*, Lat. *occasionem*.]

a-do, *v.*, to do: Y. II, 169.

affray, *v.*, frighten: C. IV, 166.

Cf. **afraid**, *ppl.*, C. II, 25.

agane, see **aganesays**.

aganesays, *v.*, contradicts: T. IV, 38; **says agane**: T. III, 60.

agayne, *adv.*, back, past: Ch. I, 37.

aght, *v.*, ought: T. IV, 461.

alde, *n.*, old age: Y. I, 182;

adj., old: Y. II, 11, 195, III, 73.

alswa, *adv.*, also: Y. I, 239. Cf. frequent occurrence of **als** = as. [OE. *eall swā*.]

altherbest, *adj.*, best of all: Y. II, 253. [**alther** = gen. plur. of *all*, used down to 1600.]

althirmast, *adj.*, most of all: Y. II, 270. [Cf. **altherbest**.]

alye, *n.*, kindred: C. IV, 15.

alyene, *n.*, alien, stranger: T. III, 351.

alys, *v.*, ails: T. IV, 505. [OE. *eglan*.]

and, *conj.*, if: *passim*.

ane, *pron.*, one: Y. II, 28, 31;

anely, only: Y. I, 205; **anes**, once: Y. II, 125.

angris, *n.*, troubles: Y. II, 275.

[ON. *angr*, trouble.]

anker, *n.*, anchorite: Ch. II, 667.

anlepy, *adj.*, single: Y. II, 40.

[Northern form of OE. *ānlēpe*, a collateral form of *ānlēpig*, from *ān* one + *hlēp* jump, leap.]

anowe, *adj.*, enough: C. IV, 42.

anoye, *n.*, misfortune: Ch. I, 550.

appent, *v.*, is supplementary: Ch. I, 268.

apent, *v.*, pertain, refer: Ch. II, 342.

appete, *n.*, appetite: T. III, 239.

[Influenced by OF. *vb. appéter*, to desire.]

aqwyte, *v.*, requite: C. V, 145.

are, *adv.*, ere, since: Y. II, 300.

arme, *n.*, harm: Y. II, 101.

arn, *v.*, are: C. V, 36. [North Midland form.]

askis, *v.*, demands: Y. IV, 118;

askyght, asked: C. IV, 269.

at, *prep.*, with: C. I, 236; Y. I, 155; to: C. III, 10, Y. II, 140; from: C. III, 190; T. I, 151, II, 80.

pron., that: T. III, 149.

atamed, *ppl.*, cut into: Ch. II, 136.

[Borrowed from OF. *entamer*, to cut the first piece, L. Lat. *ataminare*.]

attaynt, *ppl.*, convicted: Ch. II, 285.

aughen, *adj.*, own: Y. I, 202;

awne, Y. I, 197, II, 186; T. II, 74. [OE. *āgen*.]

avyse, *v.*, **avyse the**, remember: T. IV, 523 [OF. *s'avisier*.]

avowed, *ppl.*, consecrated: T. I, 114.

avoyd, *v.*, withdraw: C. IV, 114. [OF. *avoider*, to empty.]

awne, see **aughen**.

awre, *adv.*, anywhere: T. IV, 364; **awro**, T. IV, 111; **ay-whore**, T. IV, 632.

awro, see **awre**.

axe, *v.*, ask: Ch. II, 259.

aylastand, *pr. pl.*, everlasting: Y. III, 144.

ayll, *n.*, ale: T. III, 111, 244, 248, 256.

ayre, *n.*, heir: T. IV, 604.

ayther, *adj.*, either: T. IV, 459, 513; **aythor**, T. IV, 518.

azens, *prep.*, contrary to, against: C. II, 152, IV, 258, 262, V, 126.

bab, *n.*, baby: Ch. I, 353; T. III, 440.

babysched, *v.*, scorned, mocked: T. I, 292. [OF. *baubiss*, stem of *baubir*, to mock. English form influenced by *adj. babish*, childish.]

bacon, *ppl.*, baked: Ch. II, 113.

bade, *v.*, awaited: Y. III, 90.

Balaham, Balaam: Y. IV, 14.

bale, *n.*, evil: woe: Ch. I, 412; C. V, 65; Y. I, 4; **balys** (*plur.*): C. I, 21; **bayll**: T. I, 10, III, 247.

balk, *n.*, ridge, mound: T. IV, 49. [OE. *balca*, ridge; modern sense comes from the idea of a ridge being an obstacle in ploughing.]

balys, *n.*, see **bale**.

ban, *v.*, curse: T. I, 163, IV, 625;

banne, Y. II, 21.

bande, *n.*, string: Y. IV, 112.

bane, *n.*, servant: T. II, 53. See

bayne. [*bane*, *adj.*, ready, willing; from ON. *beinn*, straight.]

banne, *v.*, see **ban**.

baran, **baren**, see **bareyn**.

bareyn, *adj.*, barren: C. I, 206, 256; **baran**, Y. I, 184; **baren**,

bare, mere: Y. IV, 103. [Ultior etymology uncertain, perhaps from L. Lat. *bar* = *vir* = man.]

baron, *n.*, man of rank: Ch. I, 190. child, barne: Ch. I, 651;

baronne: Ch. II, 568; cf. Variants.

batchelere, *n.*, a young knight: Ch. I, 190.

bawmys, *n.*, balm's: C. V, 47.

bayll, see **bale**.

baynable, *adj.*, obedient, agreeable: Ch. I, 317. [Unique word, evidently from **bayne**, q. v.]

bayne, *adj.*, ready, willing: Ch. I, 234, 238. See **bane**. [ON. *beinn*, straight.]

be, *prep.*, by: *passim*.

beast, *v.*, art: Ch. I, 25.

bedell, *n.*, herald, messenger: Ch. I, 257; **bedyll**: Ch. I, 36. [Compare Mod. Eng. *beadle*.]

bedene, *adv.*, all together: T. I, 199, III, 218; completely: T. IV, 263. [Origin unknown, latter part from early ME. *æne*, in one.]

bedyll, see **bedell**.

begownne, *ppl.*, begun: C. II, 31.

beheste, **behestys**, see **behete**.

behete, *v.*, promise, assure: Y. IV, 57; **behestys**, *v.*, promises: T. III, 300, 642; **beheste**, *n.*, promise: T. III, 436. [OE. *bi-hæs*, promise, from *bihātan*, to promise. The *-t-* is sometimes introduced from analogy.]

behovys, *v.*, it is one's duty: T. I, 150, 261; **behowfys**: T. I, 233; **behovyth**, belongs: C. IV, 2.

behowfys, see **behovys**.

bekent, *v.*, know: Ch. II, 345. [Illegitimate use for sake of rime.]

belde, *v.*, find shelter, lodge: Y. II, 8, III, 14; *n.*, shelter, protection: Y. III, 76.

bell-weder, *n.*, bell-wether, sheep which leads the flock wearing a bell: T. III, 112.

bemeyne, *v.*, mean, signify: T. IV, 55.

bemys, *n.*, beams of light: C. II, 16. [Used thus first by Bede.]

benste, *interj.*, benedicite: T. III, 46, IV, 55, 359. [Invariably pronounced thus.]

bent, *ppl.*, intent, determined (?): Y. I, 46.

bent *n.*, a bare field : T. IV, 142.
[OS. *binet*, rush, reed; compare OE. *Beonet-leah*, Bently.]

berand, *pr. pl.*, bearing : T. II, 66.

berde, *n.*, bride : Y. II, 78, 122.

bere, *n.*, bearing, appearance : Ch. I, 394; T. III, 66.

here, *n.*, clamor, shouting : T. IV, 405. [O. Fris. *bære*, Du. *gebaar* = noise.]

bering, *n.*, see **berygth**.

berygth, *v.*, beareth : C. IV, 46;

berys, *v.*, bears : T. IV, 134.

bering, *n.*, birth, bearing : Y. III, 98.

berys, see **berygth**.

bestad, *ppl.*, placed, situated : C. V, 118.

betake, *v.*, commend, consign : Ch. II, 284, 664; **betaken**, *ppl.*, turned : Ch. I, 102.

betokyns, *v.*, signifies : T. III, 321, IV, 654.

beyste, *n.*, beasts : Ch. II, 78.

beytt, *v.*, make good, restore : T. I, 10. [OE. *bētan*.]

bibbe, *v.*, drink : Ch. II, 145.

bidand, *pr. pl.*, bidding, remaining : Y. I, 4.

blakys, *v.*, darkens, grows black : T. IV, 361.

blase, *n.*, blaze, light : T. III, 452.

blasses, *v.*, blazes : Ch. II, 301.

bletinge, *pr. pl.*, singing (*lit.* bleating) : Ch. II, 403.

bline, *v.*, delay, tarry : Ch. I, 263. **blyn**, cease : T. I, 105, III, 429. [OE. *be* + *linnan*, cease.]

blodyngs, *n.*, black puddings : T. III, 217. [compound of *blood* and *pudding*.]

blome, *n.*, blossom : C. V, 92; T. I, 255, II, 4.

blomyght, *v.*, blooms : C. IV, 28. [Compare **berygth**.]

blonder, *n.*, confusion, disturbance : T. IV, 25.

blyn, see **bline**.

bob, *n.*, bunch, cluster : T. IV, 718.

bode, *n.*, body : C. II, 217.

bodword, *n.*, message : T. I, 146; commandment : Y. I, 159. [OE. *bod*, northern form for *gebod*, command.]

bonde, *n.*, pregnancy (used in this sense only of the Virgin Mary) : C. IV, 173.

bore, *n.*, hole : Ch. II, 274.
boar : T. III, 212.

borwe, *v.*, be surety for, redeem : C. I, 21, 104. [OE. *borgian*, from *borg*, a pledge.]

boun, *n.*, boon : C. IV, 39.

bountith, *n.*, bounty, kindness : Y. IV, 118.

boure, *n.*, dwelling, cottage : C. V, 67; **bowre** : C. I, 314. maidens' bed chamber : C. II, 46; **bowre** : Ch. II, 556.
house, race, stock : Y. I, 76.

bowre, shelter : Ch. II, 2.

bower, bed chamber : T. IV, 76.

bourgh, *n.*, village, town : C. IV, 5; **burgh** : Y. IV, 13; **burght** : Y. IV, 87. [Always used for some foreign town.]

bovearte, *n.* : Ch. II, 276; see note.

bow, *n.*, bush : C. II, 83.

bower, see **boure**.

bowles, *n.*, bowls, in the sense of conviviality : Ch. II, 146.

bowne, *adj.*, bound, ready, prepared : Ch. I, 280; T. III, 130.

bowrde, *n.*, play, game : T. III, 482; trick : T. IV, 332.

bowre, *n.*, see **boure**.

boye, *n.*, servant, retainer : Ch. I, 276, 280, 284, &c.

boyte, *n.*, boot, remedy : T. III, 247.

bragance, *n.*, bragging, boasting : T. IV, 43. [OF. **bragance*.]

bragers, *n.*, braggers : T. III, 55.

brayde, *v.*, **brayde of**, resemble : T. III, 153. [OE. *bregdan*, to move suddenly; sometimes to act a part, hence this sense.]

brede, *v.*, spring forth : Y. I, 76.

- bredde**, *ppl.*, brought forth : Y. I, 31.
- brefes**, *n.*, short notes : T. IV, 657.
- brekyll**, *adj.*, brittle, fragile : T. IV, 121.
- bren**, *v.*, burn : T. IV, 595 ;
- brenne**, burn, shine : C. V, 21.
- brew**, *v.*, cause : Ch. I, 516.
- browne**, *n.*, brawn : T. III, 212.
- brude**, *n.*, a brewed drink, beer : T. IV, 237.
- brydde**, *n.*, bird : C. II, 83.
- bryst**, *v.*, burst : T. IV, 629. [OE. *berstan*, W.Ger. **brestan*, thus a double metathesis in the ME. form.]
- bun**, *ppl.*, bound : T. IV, 80, 753 ; cf. **bowne**.
- burnand**, *pr. pl.*, burning : T. III, 360.
- bus**, *v.*, must : Y. II, 230, 244, 289, 304. [Contracted from *behooves*.]
- buske**, *v.*, set out, hasten : C. V, 67 ; Y. II, 8.
- buske**, *n.*, bush : Ch. II, 498 ;
- buskes** : Ch. II, 2. [Lat. *boscum*, Ger. *busch*, ON. *buskr*. Later Eng. *bush* has supplanted *busk*.]
- buxom**, *adj.*, obedient : T. I, 336.
- buxumnes**, *n.*, obedience : T. II, 53.
- byll-hagers**, *n.*, men who hack with bills or broad swords (?) : T. III, 57.
- byrdyng**, *n.*, sport (here adultery) : T. I, 345. [From *v.*, to *bird*, i. e. to hunt birds.]
- byttlookes**, *n.*, fragments, small pieces : Ch. II, 152.
- byworde**, *n.*, proverb : T. III, 481.
- can**, *v.*, know : Ch. I, 494, II, 35 ; T. I, 175, 295, 312, III, 420, IV, 88, 332 ; **oon** : Y. I, 168.
- care**, *v.*, am troubled : Ch. II, 89.
- careful**, *adj.*, full of sorrow and trouble : C. I, 16, 22 ; Y. II, 145 ; T. I, 164.
- carpe**, *v.*, talk, prattle : Y. II, 140. [ON. *karpa*, to brag.]
- carpyng**, *n.*, speech, talking : C. V, 32.
- caryed**, *v.*, carried, stole : T. IV, 349.
- cas**, *n.*, matter, affair : Y. II, 145 ;
- case** : Ch. I, 9, 144, 157, 544, II, 288 ; C. II, 85 ; T. III, 45, 491, IV, 315.
- cast**, *n.*, chance : T. IV, 341, 447, 593.
- purpose, plan : C. III, 161.
- catell**, *n.*, stuff, belongings : T. IV, 548.
- cele**, see **ceyll**.
- celsis**, shepherd's version of *ex-celsis* : Ch. II, 389, 408.
- cete**, see **cety**.
- cety**, *n.*, city : C. III, 8, IV, 5 ;
- cete** : C. IV, 67 ; **cite** : Y. III, 9 ; **Cyte** : C. I, 189, IV, 11, 14, 29, 57, 64, 70.
- ceyll**, *n.*, bliss, happiness : T. IV, 523 ; **cele** : T. IV, 558 ; cf. **sely**. [OE. *sæl*, Ger. *selig*, related to Lat. *salvus*, Mod. Eng. *silly*.]
- charys**, *n.*, jobs, chores : T. IV, 304. [OE. *cerr*, Ger. *kehr*.]
- chawmere**, *n.*, chamber, room : C. I, 314, IV, 93, 111.
- cheesse**, *adj.*, choice : Ch. II, 179.
- chefe**, *v.*, prosper, thrive : T. IV, 398 ; **cheve** : C. V, 137.
- chere**, *n.*, countenance, expression : C. II, 154 ; Y. III, 125 ; T. IV, 102, 730.
- comfort, solace : C. II, 126, IV, 145 ; **cher** : C. III, 49.
- frame of mind : C. IV, 170 ; T. II, 83.
- phrase what chere ? how are you ? : *passim*. [OF. *chiere*, face, Lat. *cara*.]
- ches**, *v.*, choose : C. I, 95 ; **chese** : Ch. I, 301.
- cheve**, see **chefe**.
- childe**, *v.*, shield : Y. II, 69.
- chyte**, *v.*, chide, brawl : T. IV, 626.
- cite**, see **cety**.
- clarke**, *n.*, scholar : Ch. I, 225,

- 255; **clarkes**: Ch. II, 558; **clerk**: T. IV, 613; **clerkys**: C. IV, 51; **clerkis**: Y. I, 47, IV, 117.
- clause**, *n.*, the conclusion of a scholastic argument: T. III, 241.
- cledde**, *ppl.*, clad: Y. I, 29.
- clepe**, *v.*, call, summon: C. III, 46; **clepyd**, *ppl.*: *passim*.
- clerge**, *n.*, learning, scholarship: T. III, 389; **clergy**: T. IV, 676; **clergete**: T. III, 240.
- clergete**, **clergy**, see **clerge**.
- clerkis**, **clerkys** &c., see **clarke**.
- clight**, *ppl.*, grasped: Ch. I, 656. [OE. *clyccean*; Mod. Eng. *clutch* is another development.]
- cloghe**, *n.*, ravine, usually the bed of a torrent: Y. IV, 52. [OE. **clōh*.]
- clos**: *phr.*, **in clos**, secretly: C. III, 116.
- clowt**, *n.*, patch: Ch. II, 52, 282; cloth, covering: T. IV, 584.
- clowtt**, *n.*, blow: Ch. II, 88; **clowtes**: Ch. II, 89. [Derivation unknown.]
- clyfe**, *n.*, cliff, rock; **orystal clyfe**, rock crystal: T. I, 308.
- clyne**, *v.*, bow, submit: C. I, 283.
- cobill-notis**, *n.*, a kind of hazel nut: Y. IV, 112.
- cod**, *n.*, pillow, cushion: T. III, 22. [ON. *koddi*, OE. *codd*.]
- colknifys**, *n.*, long, large knife: T. III, 57.
- colle**, *interj.*, golly!: Y. IV, 39, 54.
- comeryd**, *ppl.*, conceived, mothered: C. I, 31. [Unique word here in English, Fr. *commère*, god-mother, hence any parental relation; see in Littré's *Dict. de la Lang. Franç.*]
- commen**, *adj.*, common: Ch. I, 442.
- con**, see **can**.
- conceytate**, *n.*, pregnancy: T. I, 138.
- connyng**, *adj.*, knowing, learned: Y. IV, 117.
- conversacion**, *n.*, spiritual state: C. III, 29.
- couth**, *v.*, could: T. IV, 103, 524, 739; **couth**: T. IV, 120, 218, 433; **cowth**: T. III, 242.
- cover**, *v.*, recover, save, redeem: Ch. II, 471. [In part aphetic from *acover*, (OE. *a-cofriān*), redeem; also reinforced by OF. *cover*, to acquire. Not to be confounded with *cover* from OF. *couvrir*.]
- cowche**, *v.*, to bow in reverence: T. III, 478.
- cowre**, *v.*, bend down: T. IV, 722.
- cowth**, *v.*, see **couth**.
- cowth**, *adj.*, known, familiar: Ch. II, 687.
- coyntly**, *adv.*, quaintly, i. e. skillfully, cleverly: Ch. I, 623. [OF. *cointe*, Lat. *cognitum*.]
- craft**, *n.*, trade, occupation: Ch. II, 666; T. I, 277; **craft**, Ch. II, 82, 396. skill: T. I, 295.
- crak**, *v.*, to make a noise, to boast: T. III, 59, IV, 477.
- crakid**, *ppl.*, sung: Y. IV, 67.
- crakyd**, *v.*, sang: T. IV, 656.
- cratch**, *n.*, manger, crib: Ch. I, 526, II, 491.
- creyse**, *n.*, croise, cross (?): C. V, 32.
- crochett**, *n.*, a note of half the value of a minim: T. IV, 658.
- crok**, *v.*, croak, groan: T. IV, 386; to utter a cry: T. IV, 69.
- cromes**, *n.*, hooks, crooks (to pull down the boughs of a tree): Ch. II, 639.
- crop**, *n.*, consummation: T. III, 470, IV, 725; **cropp**: Ch. II, 427.
- crosse**, *n.*, night-spell (?): T. III, 289.
- croyne**, *v.*, croon, hum: T. IV, 476, 661.
- cryb**, *v.*, eat, feed at a crib: T. III, 208.

- curiouse**, *adj.*, carefull, assiduous: Ch. II, 386.
- curst**, *adj.*, disagreeable: T. III, 206.
- curye**, *n.*, cookery, cooked food: Ch. II, 282. [OF. *queurie*, Lat. *coquus*.]
- custom**, *adj.*, customary: C. I, 324.
- cyte**, **cytee**, see **cety**.
- dall**, *n.*, daddle, hand: T. IV, 733. [Probably a mere infantile word; possibly it originally signified the hollow of the hand, and is related to common Teutonic root *dalo*, hollow.]
- dame-kynn**, *n.*, women-folk: Ch. II, 90.
- dampned**, *ppl.*, damned: T. I, 28.
- dangere**, *n.*, power, dominion: Ch. I, 191; **in thi dangere**, under obligation to thee: T. III, 205.
- dase**, *n.*, days: Y. II, 11.
- dayes**, *n.*, dais: Ch. I, 246.
- dede**, *n.*, death: Y. II, 19, 50, IV, 66; T. IV, 621; *adj.*, dead: Y. II, 148; T. IV, 229, 486.
- defend**, *v.*, prohibit: T. I, 6.
- defens**, *n.*, argument: C. III, 153.
- defly**, *adv.* for *adj.*, deaf: T. IV, 109.
- deft**, *adj.*, gentle, kind (possibly beautiful, handsome): Ch. II, 397. [Cf. Du. *deftig*, decent.]
- degre**, *n.*, rank: C. I, 329, IV, 98; T. I, 335; **degre**: Ch. I, 7, 55, 76, 192, &c.
- delayde**, *ppl.*, allayed, assuaged: C. IV, 277.
- dele**, *v.*, have to do: Y. I, 234; T. I, 323.
- dele**, *n.*, part, portion: C. IV, 138; **deyll**: T. III, 271.
- denye**, *v.*, refuse: Ch. II, 96.
- deprave**, *v.*, disparage: Ch. II, 119.
- dere**, *v.*, harm, injure: Y. II, 305.
- derfely**, *adv.*, quickly: Y. II, 148. [ON. *djarfr*, bold.]
- desesyde**, *ppl.*, made uneasy: C. II, 130.
- desever**, *v.*, disperse, separate: Ch. II, 357.
- devyr**, *n.*, duty: C. II, 109.
- devyse**, *n.*, will, pleasure: T. I, 3.
- dewill**, *n.*, devil: T. IV, 110, 217, 331, 392, &c.; **dewyll**: T. IV, 210, 229; **deyll**: T. III, 272.
- deyll**, see **dele** and **dewill**.
- diffynicion**, *n.*, limitation: C. I, 100.
- dight**, *v.*, direct, govern: Y. II, 203.
prepare: Y. III, 49; **dyght**: C. V, 71.
ppl., prepared: Ch. I, 381; **dyght**: T. I, 72, II, 59, III, 288.
arrayed, drawn up in rank: Ch. I, 227.
- dighting**, *n.*, preparation: Ch. II, 219.
- disease**, *v.*, displease: Y. IV, 127.
- dispituouslye**, *adv.*, scornfully, contemptuously: Ch. I, 594, 604; **dispytuusly**: Ch. I, 94.
- dispytuusly**, see **dispituouslye**.
- dissayuandly**, *adv.*, deceivingly: Y. II, 140.
- dissese**, *n.*, trouble: C. III, 150.
- diuersorye**, *n.*, shelter, temporary lodging: Ch. I, 524.
- dold**, *adj.*, stupid, inert: T. IV, 2.
- dole**, *n.*, grief: Ch. II, 248; Y. II, 148; **dule**: Y. II, 144; **doyll**: T. I, 220.
- dolowre**, *n.*, trouble: C. IV, 63.
- domes**, *n.*, judgements: Y. I, 68.
- dompnesse**, *n.*, dumbness: C. III, 35.
- done**, *v.*, place, put: T. I, 228; **dyd**, put: T. II, 67.
- dotist**, *v.*, art silly, talkest foolishly: Y. II, 180.
- dowm**, *adj.*, dumb: C. III, 183.
- dowore**, *n.*, door (?) : T. IV, 362.

dowse, *n.*, dose : T. IV, 246.

dowtere, *n.*, daughter : C. I, 57, 75, 311; **doughtir** in Y.

dowth, *n.*, doubt : C. IV, 249, 254.

doyll, see **dole**.

doyn, *ppl.*, done : T. III, 431;

doyne : T. IV, 280; **doys**, does : T. III, 235.

draes, see **dray**.

dray, *v.*, draw : T. IV, 306; **draes**, draws : T. III, 287.

dre, *v.*, endure, undergo : T. IV, 65.

dredand, *pr. pl.*, fearing : T. II, 63.

dredene, *v.*, fear, reverence : Ch. I, 91.

dredles, *adv.*, surely : Y. II, 90.

dreedde, *n.*, fear : Ch. I, 446.

drely, *adv.*, heavily, mightily : T. III, 245.

drent, *ppl.*, drenched, drowned : Ch. II, 249.

dresse, *v.*, address : Ch. II, 588; order, arrange : Y. II, 203, 238.

drogh, *v.*, drew : T. III, 276.

dryle, *n.*, love : Ch. II, 588. [OF. *druirie*, Lat. *druderia*.]

dude, *v.*, did : C. IV, 95, 271.

dule, see **dole**.

dwere, *n.*, doubt : C. II, 11. [Origin unknown.]

dyd, see **done**.

dyght, see **dight**.

dyke, *n.*, ditch : T. III, 93. [OE. *dic* = both *dyke* and *ditch*.]

dyscreeve, *v.*, discover, betray : Ch. I, 141. [OF. *descrire*, Lat. *describere*.]

dyspeyre, *v.*, despair : C. III, 101.

eare, *n.*, air : Ch. II, 344.

eche on, *pron.*, each one : C. I, 162.

edder, *n.*, adder : T. I, 25. [OE. *naedre*; for loss of *-n-*, see **naugere**.]

ee, *n.*, eye : T. II, 3, III, 325, 340, IV, 287; **een** (*plur.*) : T. IV, 284; **eene** : T. III, 21, 369,

448; **eeayne** : T. IV, 58; **eynes** : C. I, 25.

een, **eene**, see **ee**.

eeayne, see **ee**.

eft, *adv.*, afterward : T. IV, 294, 622.

eg, *n.*, fight (?) : T. III, 151. [ON. *eggja*, to incite.]

egermonde, *n.*, agrimony : Ch. II, 22. [Adaptation of OF. *agramoine*.]

elde, *n.*, old age : Y. I, 182, II, 5; T. I, 135, 170, II, 9, 11.

elyke, *adj.*, alike : T. III, 91.

emang, *prep.*, among : Y. IV, 49, 56; T. III, 46, 306, &c., also

emong, and **omange** (q. v.).

emell, *prep.*, among : Y. I, 112. [ON. *amilli*.]

enbraste, *ppl.*, surrounded : Y. II, 276.

endorde, *ppl.*, covered with the yolk of egg : T. III, 234.

enewe, *adj.*, enough : T. IV, 500; see **inowe**.

equyte, *n.*, equity : C. I, 132.

er, *v.*, are : Y. I, 37, II, 15, 91; **ere** : Y. II, 164.

erys, *n.*, ears : T. III, 312.

ethe, *adj.*, easy : C. IV, 20. [OE. *zathe*.]

euyllis, *n.*, evils : Y. II, 275.

everychone, *pron.*, every one : Ch. I, 298, 687.

everywon, *adv.*, always : C. IV, 67.

exorte, *v.*, issue forth, spring up : C. I, 56.

expresse, *adj.*, exact, true : Ch. I, 575; specially despatched : C. I, 316.

eych, *pron.*, each : Ch. *passim*.

eyll, *n.*, eel : T. IV, 356.

eynes, see **ee**.

eyte, *adj.*, eight : C. III, 171.

fall, *v.*, happen, chance : Ch. I, 47; Y. II, 272; T. III, 189, 432,

IV, 560; **falle** : Y. IV, 107;

fallas : Y. IV, 45; **fallys** :

T. IV, 66, 188; **fell**, happened :

Ch. I, 719; T. IV, 314.

- fames**, *v.*, makes public, defames (?): T. I, 213.
famyscht, *adj.*, famished: C. I, 12.
fane, *adj.*, happy: T. III, 8, 176.
fang, *v.*, turn to, enter upon: T. IV, 668. [OE. *fōn*, Ger. *fangen*.]
far, *adj.*, fair (?): T. III, 150.
far, **fare**, **fares**, **farys**, &c. *v.*, go, fare, experience, prosper: *passim*. **foore**: *past indic*: T. IV, 196; **fowre**: T. IV, 123; **ferd**, **ferde**, C. II, 10, 21.
ferd, *adj.*, afraid: T. IV, 666; **ferd**: T. III, 308; **fearde**: Ch. II, 306.
fare, **fares**, *v.*, see **far**.
fare, *n.*, fuss, commotion: T. IV, 413, 602.
 fair: T. III, 42.
 conduct: Y. II, 100.
 occurrence: Y. II, 254.
farly, *adj.*, strange, wonderful: Y. II, 254; **ferly**: T. I, 110. [OE. *fērlic*, sudden.]
farne, *ppl.*, fared, done: T. IV, 531, 576 (see **far**).
 labored, *travailléd*: T. IV, 533.
fast, *adv.*, an intensive adverb, similar to Mod. Eng. use of *hard*, in such phrases as *hard by*.
fastand, *pr. pl.*, fasting: T. IV, 352.
fay, **faye**, *n.*, faith: *passim*; particularly in phrases **in fay**, **my fay**, &c.
fayn, *n.*, joy: T. III, 478.
fayr, *n.*, wages: T. IV, 163.
fe, *n.*, cattle: T. III, 105; **fee**: Y. IV, 35; T. III, 188.
fearde, *adj.*, see **fard**.
feare, *n.*, see **fere**.
febill, *adj.*, wicked, sinful: Y. II, 100; **feeble**: Ch. I, 161; **febyly**: C. IV, 98; **feeblye**: Ch. I, 142.
febyly, *adv.*, see **febill**.
fedd, *ppl.*, sustained by false hopes: Y. I, 25.
fee, *n.*, see **fe**.
feeble, **feeblye**, see **febill**.
feende, **feendes**, **feendis**, see **feynd**.
feere, *n.*, see **fere**.
feft, *ppl.*, endowed: T. IV, 620.
felawe, *n.*, fellow: C. V, 14; Y. II, 248.
fele, *adj.*, many: Y. I, 236.
fell, *v.*, strike down, destroy: Ch. II, 565; Y. I, 116; **felle**: C. II, 218; Y. IV, 31; **fellyth**: C. III, 109.
felle, *adj.*, savage, fierce: Ch. I, 606; C. V, 126; **fellest**: Y. III, 72.
fellere, *n.*, destroyer: C. V, 108.
felles, *n.*, hills, moors: Y. IV, 34.
fellest, *adj.*, see **felle**.
feltered, *ppl.*, tangled, matted: T. III, 65.
felyd, *v.*, felt: Y. III, 72.
fende, **fendys**, see **feynd**.
ferd, **ferde**, *ppl.*, see **far**.
ferd, *adj.*, see **fard**.
ferde, *n.*, fear: T. III, 289.
fere, *n.*, companion, mate: Ch. I, 464, 502; C. I, 231, 313; T. II, 82, IV, 100; **feare**: Ch. I, 76; *phr.*, **in fere** (**feere**, **fer**, **feare**), together: *passim*.
ferforth, *adv.*, to that extent: C. III, 89.
ferly, *adj.*, see **farly**.
fermes, *n.*, rents, taxes: T. III, 30. [OE. *ferme*, Lat. *firma*, a fixed payment.]
fetterfowe, *n.*, the herb feverfew: Ch. II, 27.
feyldys, *n.*, fields: T. IV, 133, 167.
feynd, *n.*, fiend, devil: Ch. II, 565; T. I, 36, 62, IV, 639; **feend**: Y. I, 25, IV, 31; **feendes** (*gen.*): Ch. I, 638; **feendis**: T. I, 116; **fende**: C. V, 198; Y. I, 24; **fendys**: C. II, 218, V, 125.
feytt, see **foytt**.
flackett, *n.*, bottle, flask: Ch. II, 144, 571.
flayd, *ppl.*, frightened away: T. IV, 384.

flitt, *v.*, move rapidly: Y. IV, 34; **flytt**, depart: Ch. II, 197. [ON. *flytja*.]

flyng, *v.*, hasten: T. IV, 573.

flyte, *v.*, strive, wrangle: Ch. II, 208; T. III, 148, IV, 625.

flyth, *n.*, flight: C. I, 214.

flytt, *v.*, move the sheepfold: T. III, 120. See also **flitt**.

fode, *n.*, child, offspring (that which is fed): T. I, 365; **food**: Ch. I, 187; C. IV, 144; **foode**: Y. III, 91, IV, 78; T. I, 178, II, 85; **foyde**: T. IV, 720.

fon, *n.*, fool, fools: T. I, 353, III, 393.

fond, *v.*, try, attempt: Ch. II, 319, 322.

food, **foode**, see **fode**.

foore, see **far**.

forbot, *n.*, prohibition: T. III, 271, IV, 451.

forbye, *v.*, redeem, save: Ch. I, 436, 565.

fordele, *n.*, advantage: Y. IV, 107.

fordo, *v.*, ruin, destroy: T. IV, 284.

forfete, *n.*, sin, transgression: C. II, 40.

forfang, *v.*, forego, give up: T. IV, 34; **forgonne**: Ch. I, 688.

forgonne, see **forfang**.

forlore, see **forlorn**.

forlorn, *adj.*, lost: C. II, 70, 158, IV, 215, 300, V, 36, 52, 122;

forlore: C. IV, 295. [OE. *forloren*, Ger. *verloren*. Compare phrase *forlorn hope*, Du. *verloren hoop*, a doomed body of men.]

formefaders, *n.*, forefathers: Y. I, 110, IV, 5.

formere, *n.*, creator: C. V, 107.

forrakyd, *ppl.*, worn out with walking: T. IV, 256.

forshapyn, *ppl.*, mis-shapen: T. IV, 619.

forspokyn, *ppl.*, bewitched, charmed: T. IV, 613.

fortaxed, *ppl.*, grievously taxed: T. IV, 16.

forthl, see **forthy**.

forthy, *conj.*, therefore: Ch. I,

61; Y. I, 159, II, 33, 46, 64, &c., T. I, 335; **forthl**: T. I, 312, 321; **what forthy**, what of that?: C. II, 104.

forthynk, *v.*, regret: T. I, 299;

forthynkys: T. I, 198, IV, 155, 511.

forwakyd, *ppl.*, weary with waking: T. IV, 253.

forwandered, *ppl.*, weary with wandering: Y. II, 250.

foryeldys, *v.*, repays: T. IV, 171.

fott, *v.*, fetched, brought: T. IV, 517.

fowre, see **far**.

foyde, see **fode**.

foyne, *adj.*, few: T. IV, 281.

foytt, *n.*, foot: T. IV, 352; **feytt** (*plur.*): T. IV, 599.

frande, *v.*, inquire: Y. II, 225.

fraye, *n.*, terror: Ch. II, 306.

frayn(e), *v.*, ask, inquire: Y. II, 46; T. I, 185. [ON. *fregna*, Ger. *fragen*.]

frayste, *v.*, try, attempt: Y. IV, 35.

freake, *n.*, man: Ch. I, 188. [OE. *freca*, warrior.]

fre(e), a stock *adj.* of compliment signifying noble, generous, etc.: *passim*.

freere, *n.*, friar: Ch. I, 569;

freres, **frerys** (*plur.*): T. III,

286, 389.

freese, *n.*, frost: Y. III, 72.

frely, *adj.*, similar in meaning and use to **fre** (q. v.).

freres, **frerys**, see **freere**.

frith, *n.*, rough, wooded country: Y. II, 9; **fryth**: C. IV, 87.

fun, *ppl.*, found: Y. I, 155; T. IV, 78, 751.

fynd(e), *v.*, support: Ch. I, 429; T. I, 272.

fynter-fanter, *n.*, an herb: Ch. II, 27. [A jingling reduplication of unmeaning sounds.]

gab, *v.*, mock, scoff: Y. II, 141;

gabbe, *v.*, lie: Y. II, 48.

Galale, **Galyle**, Galilee: C. I, 188; Y. I, 137.

- gam**, *n.*, play, sport: T. I, 396, III, 500, IV, 427; **gams**: T. I, 169.
- gammon**, *n.*, nonsense, rubbish: Ch. I, 259.
- gan**, *v.*, began (in sense of Fr. *se mettre*): *passim*; also **gon**, **gonne**, **gun**.
- gar**, *v.*, cause, make: T. IV, 610; **gard** (*past indic.*): T. IV, 650; **gars** (*pr. indic.*): Y. II, 57; T. III, 91; **garres**: Y. IV, 50; **gart** (*past indic.*): T. I, 26, III, 254. [OE. *gierwan*, to prepare.]
- gard**, *v.*, see **gar**.
- garray**, *n.*, row, commotion: T. IV, 564.
- garres**, **gars**, **gart**, see **gar**.
- gate**, *v.*, got, begot: Y. II, 73; **gatt**: T. IV, 603.
- gate**, *n.*, way, journey: T. III, 452; **good gayte**, good luck!: T. III, 259.
- gatt**, see **gate**.
- gawde**, *n.*, trick: Y. II, 137; T. IV, 593; **gawdys**, T. IV, 176.
- geder**, *v.*, gather: T. III, 174, 285; **gadir** in Y; **gaderyn** in C.
- geld**, *adj.*, barren: T. I, 134, 139, II, 12.
- gere**, *n.*, belongings, equipment: Ch. II, 529; Y. II, 301; T. III, 67.
- gesyne**, *n.*, child-bed: C. IV, 171. [OF. *gesine*, from *gesir*, to lie.]
- gett**, *n.*, children, offspring: T. I, 42; carnal intercourse: T. I, 115.
- hostlye**, *adv.*, supernaturally: Ch. I, 373.
- glade**, *v.*, rejoice, make glad: Ch. II, 111; **gladys**: T. II, 50.
- glase**, *n.*, blow, wound: T. IV, 316.
- gle(e)**, *n.*, pleasure, sport: Ch. II, 112; T. IV, 708; song: Ch. II, 332, 382; T. III, 326.
- glent**, *v.*, slip off: Ch. II, 247. [Teut. **glint*, of which the primary significance is of quick motion, the secondary meaning is of light; cf. Ger. *glänzen*.]
- gloe**, *v.*, glow, burn with enthusiasm: Ch. II, 332.
- glose**, *n.*, pretext, specious appearance: T. IV, 413.
- go**, *v.*, walk: T. III, 100, IV, 592.
- goderhayll**, *interj.*, good luck: T. III, 226.
- gole**, *v.*, meaningless word, perhaps a slang phrase meaning "get out": Ch. II, 262.
- golyons**, *n.*, gown: Ch. II, 247.
- gon**, **gonne**, see **gan**.
- gossyppys**, *n.*, sponsors in baptism: T. IV, 559. [*God* + *sibb*, related in God.]
- goys**, *v.*, goes: T. *passim*; also **goyth**, *goeth*.
- goys**, *n.*, goose: T. III, 233.
- goyth**, *v.*, see **goys**, *v.*
- grame**, *n.*, harm: C. IV, 155; anger: C. IV, 183. [ON. *gremja*, to vex.]
- gramere**, *n.*, learning: T. III, 387; **gramery**: T. III, 242.
- gramery**, see **gramere**.
- grathely**, *adv.*, properly, carefully: Y. I, 225; see **grayth**.
- grawsinge**, *n.*, grazing, feeding: Ch. II, 138.
- grayd**, **grayed**, see **grayth**.
- grayth**, *v.*, prepare, equip: Y. I, 19; T. I, 76; **grayd**: Y. I, 141, 190; **grayed**: Y. I, 225.
- greete**, *n.*, grit, sand: Ch. II, 75.
- grete**, *v.*, weep: T. III, 21; **gretyng**, *pr. pl.*, weeping: T. III, 478.
- gronys**, *n.*, snouts: T. III, 229.
- growne**, *n.*, face (?): T. III, 432. [Cf. **gronys**.]
- groyne**, *v.*, make a noise like a hen: T. IV, 70.
- groyne**, *n.*, the cut of meat about the rump: Ch. II, 122.
- groyns**, *n.*, groans: Ch. II, 262.
- gryse**, *n.*, terror (?): C. V, 95.

- [Apparently coined from **gry-sly**.]
gryslly, *adv.*, horribly : C. V, 95.
 [OE. *gristlic*.]
gryssed, *ppl.*, sunk in grass : T. III, 189.
gun, *v.*, see **gan**.
gurd, *v.*, see **gyrd**.
gy, *v.*, guide : Y. III, 45.
gyler, *n.*, beguiler : T. IV, 713.
gyn, *n.*, snare, trap : T. IV, 370.
gyrd, *v.*, strike, smite : T. IV, 622; **gurd**, struck (a note) (?) : Ch. II, 401.
gyse, *n.*, way, manner : C. II, 31, 56; T. IV, 341.
hackney, *n.*, a horse of middle size and quality : Ch. I, 289.
haddyn, *v.*, had : C. IV, 270.
hak, *v.*, to break a note : T. IV, 476.
halfe, *v.*, have : Ch. I, 201.
halsyng, *n.*, greeting : Y. I, 149;
haylsing : Y. I, 213. [ON. *heilsa*, to greet.]
hamyd, *ppl.*, crippled, lamed : T. IV, 15. [OHG. *hamen*.]
handlangwhile, *n.*, moment, instant : T. IV, 412. [OE. *handhwil*.]
hand-tamyd, *ppl.*, submissive to handling, humble : T. IV, 17.
hane, *ppl.*, had : T. I, 235.
hap(e), *n.*, fortune, luck : Ch. II, 207; C. II, 181, IV, 183; T. III, 40; **happe** : Ch. II, 253; Y. II, 272, IV, 90.
hap, *v.*, wrap : T. IV, 434;
happe : Y. III, 120; **happyd**, *ppl.* : T. IV, 1; **hapt**, *ppl.* : T. IV, 369.
haras, *n.*, an enclosure where horses and mares are kept for breeding : C. IV, 83.
harnays, *n.*, stuff, equipment : Y. IV, 102; **harnes** : T. IV, 192, 392.
harnes, see **harnays**.
harre, *adv.*, higher : Ch. II, 414.
harwere, *n.*, harrower, despoiler : C. V, 124.
hat, **hatt**, **hattyht**, see **hyght**.
hatyth, *v.*, hateth : C. I, 87.
haunsed, *ppl.*, raised, elevated : Ch. I, 98. [OF. **hauncer*, for *haucer*, Fr. *hausser*; compare *enhance*.]
hayls, *v.*, hail, greet : T. I, 65.
haylsing, see **halsyng**.
hayriffe, *n.*, hairif, goose-grass : Ch. II, 77.
haytt, *adj.*, hot : T. IV, 227.
he, *adj.*, high : T. II, 1, III, 15;
hee : T. III, 442; **hegh** : Y. I, 93, 178.
heal(e), *n.*, salvation : Ch. I, 74;
heele : Y. IV, 90; **hele** : Y. I, 240; T. II, 51; **heyle** : T. I, 45; **heyll** : T. III, 4.
 good luck : Ch. II, 48.
heder, **hedyr**, *adv.*, hither : C. III, 75, 197; T. III, 109, IV, 262.
hee, see **he**.
hee, *pron.*, ye : Ch. II, 408.
heele, see **heal(e)**.
hefne, *n.*, heaven : *passim*.
hegh, see **he**.
heght, *n.*, height : Y. II, 29.
height, see **hyght**.
hek, *n.*, an inner door : T. IV, 305. [OE. *hac*, giving in the South the form *hatch*.]
hele, see **heal(e)**.
hem, *pron.*, them : C. I, 21, 24, IV, 268.
hendyng, *n.*, ending : C. V, 146.
hent, *v.*, lay hold of, grasp : Ch. II, 252; get to, arrive at : Ch. II, 415.
heppe, *n.*, heap, throng : T. III, 417.
herand, *n.*, errand : C. II, 4.
herber, *v.*, contain, hold : Y. IV, 125.
herberow, *n.*, harbour, shelter : Y. III, 6; **herborwe** : C. IV, 58.
herthe, *n.*, earth : C. III, 137.
heryng, *n.*, hearing : T. I, 70.
heste, *n.*, east : Y. IV, 46.
hethen, *adv.*, hence : Ch. II, 379, 656.

hethyng, *n.*, scorn, mockery: Y. II, 151.

hett, see **hight**.

hetyng, *n.*, promise: T. IV, 717.

hetys, *v.*, commands: T. I, 111.

heuenryke, *n.*, kingdom of heaven: Y. I, 101. [OE. *heofon-ryce*.]

heydys, *n.*, heads: T. IV, 283.

heyle, **heyll**, see **heal(e)**.

heynd, *adj.*, gentle, comely: T. I, 54, 149, IV, 638; **heyndly**: T. I, 66.

heynt, see **hight**.

hight, *v.*, promised: Ch. I, 174; T. I, 8, IV, 472; **hyght**: Y. I, 12; T. I, 18, IV, 431; **hett**, *ppl.*: T. I, 118; **heynt**: T. I, 9.

him, *pron.*, them: Ch. I, 264.

his, *v.*, is: C. *passim*.

hit, *pron.*, it: Ch. *passim*.

ho, *pron.*, who: C. I, 272, II, 36.

ho, *interj.*: C. I, 87.

hogys, *n.*, young sheep: T. IV, 456.

hote, *n.*, command: T. I, 120. Cf. **hetys**.

huddle, *interj.*: Y. IV, 37, 46.

hunder, *adv.*, under: T. IV, 24.

husbandys, *n.*, husbandmen, farmers: T. IV, 22.

hydus, *adj.*, hideous: T. IV, 58.

hyght, *v.*, see **hight**.

hyght, *ppl.*, named, called: C. II, 214; **height**: Ch. I, 30;

hygth: C. III, 30.

hat, *v.*, be called: T. I, 99;

hatt: T. IV, 604; **hattyht**, am called: C. V, 31.

hynde, *adv.*, near: C. II, 146.

hyne, *n.*, hind: T. IV, 147.

hyng, *v.*, hang: T. IV, 308. [For rime.]

hyte, *interj.*, stop! (?): T. III, 150.

hyz, *adj.*, high: C. *passim*.

hyze, *v.*, hie: C. I, 197.

ich, *pron.*, I: T. IV, 201, 207, 211.

ich(e), *adj.*, each: C. IV, 308; T. I, 245, IV, 488.

ichon, *pron.*, each one: C. IV, 4.

ilk(e), *adj.*, each: Y. II, 7, 28, 125, &c.; T. IV, 241.

same: Ch. I, 573.

ilkane, each one: Y. II, 133.

illspon, *ppl.*, ill-spun: T. IV, 587.

ilych, *adj.*, alike: Ch. II, 105.

iment, *ppl.*, intended: Ch. I, 306.

immange, *prep.*, among: Y. II, 31. [Compare **emang**.]

inbasset, *n.*, embassy, message sent by an ambassador: C. I, 211.

incheson, *n.*, motive, reason: C. I, 330. [OF. *acheson*, Lat. *occasionem*.]

infude, *v.*, inspired: T. II, 89. [Lat. *infundere*, *infundi*.]

injoyid, *ppl.*, rejoiced: C. III, 85.

inowe, *adv.*, enough: Y. IV, 54.

inrold, *ppl.*, explained, unrolled: T. III, 384.

intent, *n.*, intention, meaning: Ch. I, 265; T. I, 247; attention: Ch. II, 413, 433.

inum, *ppl.*, taken, i. e. understood: C. V, 83. [OE. *genomen*.]

irke, *v.*, grow weary: T. I, 161.

iwisse, see **iwys**.

iwote, *ppl.*, known, recognised: C. V, 80.

iwus, see **iwys**.

iwys, *adv.*, surely: *passim*; **iwus**: C. III, 182; **iwisse**: Y. II, 110.

jambons, *n.*, hams: Ch. II, 131.

jangling, *n.*, wrangling: T. IV, 174.

jannock, *n.*, a loaf of leavened oaten bread: Ch. II, 120.

jape, *v.*, sport, have carnal intercourse: C. II, 44.

Iape, *n.*, joke, jest: T. IV, 221.

Ielott, *n.*, a loose woman: T. IV, 316. [Diminutive of *Gill*, a woman's name.]

juge, *n.*, judgement: C. III, 34.

keepe, *v.*, prevent: Ch. I, 618.
ken, *v.*, know: C. III, 56, 122; Y. II, 207; T. II, 32, III, 190, &c.; **kenne**: Y. III, 127;
kend(e), *ppl.*: C. I, 189; Y. II, 17; T. II, 46; **kende**, *past indic.*: Y. I, 14; **kent**, *ppl.*: Ch. II, 438.
kend(e), see **ken**.
kende, *n.*, see **kind**.
kepe, *n.*, care: Y. II, 247;
kepyng: Y. II, 259.
kind, *n.*, race, species: Ch. I, 71;
kynde: Ch. I, 173; T. III, 395, IV, 591, 679; **kende**: C. V, 59, 109.
 nature: Ch. I, 450; **kynde**: Ch. I, 475; Y. I, 21, 52, II, 210; **kende**: C. I, 240.
kynde, generation: C. III, 96; T. II, 62.
kindlye, *adv.*, naturally: Ch. I, 438.
knakt, *v.*, broke notes: T. IV, 659.
knave, *n.*, boy: Ch. II, 289;
knafe: T. III, 120; **knafys**: T. III, 144, 277; **knaues**: T. III, 278.
 servant, commoner: Ch. I, 255; C. IV, 195; Y. IV, 100.
knowledge, *v.*, acknowledge: Ch. I, 390; **knowledge**: C. II, 203, IV, 233.
 agree, promise: Ch. I, 269.
knyght, *n.*, boy, youth: C. V, 113. [OE. *cniht*, Ger. *knecht*.]
kynde, see **kind**.
kyppys, *v.*, snatches: T. III, 253, IV, 557. [ON. *kippa*.]
lach, *v.*, neglect: Ch. II, 281.
lackles, *adj.*, blameless: Ch. II, 533.
lagh, *n.*, law: T. I, 240. [OE. *lagu*, Teut. **lago(m)*.]
lakan, *n.*, toy, baby: T. IV, 242.
lake, *v.*, play, amuse one's self: T. III, 465, IV, 165; **lakys**: T. IV, 414.
lang, *v.*, wish, desire: T. IV, 209; **langyd**, *ppl.*, T. IV, 33.

lapped, *ppl.*, wrapped, clothed: Ch. I, 527, II, 483; **lappyd**: C. III, 35; T. IV, 4; **lapt**: T. IV, 368.
lare, *n.*, lore: Y. II, 98 (q. v.).
late, *v.*, look, search: T. I, 137. [ON. *leita*.]
lathis, *v.*, loathes: Y. II, 149.
laton, *n.*, Latin: T. III, 391.
latter, never the latter, never the less: Ch. I, 540.
lay, *n.*, law, faith, belief: Y. IV, 8.
layne, *v.*, lay: Y. III, 132.
layne, *v.*, conceal: Y. II, 227. [OE. *liegnan*, Ger. *leugnen*.]
layth, *adj.*, repulsive: T. I, 63.
le, *n.*, lie: T. IV, 560.
leasinge, *n.*, falsehood: Ch. I, 352.
lech, *n.*, healer: T. I, 45.
leche, *v.*, cure, heal: Y. IV, 10.
ledyr, *adj.*, poor, sorry, worthless: T. IV, 147.
lee, *n.*, plain, field: T. III, 316. [OE. *lēah*.]
 peace, quiet: Ch. I, 526. [Fig. use from *lee*, shelter.]
leedes, *n.*, precedents (?): Ch. I, 232.
leeffe, see **lefe**.
leeminge, *adj.*, gleaming: Ch. II, 313.
leeve, *v.*, believe: Ch. I, 17, 386, 462, 558, 564, 579, &c.; **leved**: Ch. I, 62; **leeves**: Ch. I, 366;
lefe: T. IV, 40.
lefe, *v.*, see **leeve**.
lefe, *adj.*, dear: Ch. I, 502; Y. II, 101; **leeffe**: Ch. I, 416, 464.
lefe, *adv.*, kindly: Y. II, 249.
lele, *adj.*, faithful, loyal: Y. I, 238; T. II, 54, IV, 521; **leyle**: T. I, 46.
 lawful: Y. II, 261. [OF. *leel*, Lat. *legalis*.]
lely, *adv.*, faithfully: Y. I, 59.
lemer, *n.*, flasher, radiator: Y. III, 111.
lemes, *n.*, flashes, rays: Y. IV, 16. [OE. *lōma*; cf. **leemyd**.]
lemman, *n.*, loved one: T. I, 65, 356.

- lemyd**, *v.*, gleamed : T. III, 316.
lende, *v.*, abide, remain : Ch. I, 137; Y. I, 16; **lending**, *pr. pl.* : T. III, 80; **lent**, *ppl.*, dwelt : T. I, 352; **were lent**, abode : Ch. I, 643; **is lent**, abides : Ch. II, 511. [OE. *lendan*, come to land.]
lende, *v.*, grant, bestow : Y. III, 48; **lente**, *ppl.* : Y. I, 218. [OE. *lānan*, -*d*- introduced by analogy to *send*, *bend*, &c.]
lending, see **lende**.
lenge, *v.*, linger : Ch. I, 137.
lent(e), see **lende**.
lere, *v.*, teach : Ch. I, 441, II, 340, 525; **lered** : Y. I, 16, learn : Y. II, 98; T. I, 229, III, 162, IV, 288; **lerd**, *ppl.* : T. III, 392; **lerved** : Y. IV, 18. [OE. *lāran* = teach, *leornian* = learn, the two became confused in ME.; see **lernyd**.]
lernyd, *v.*, learned : T. IV, 524. *ppl.*, taught : C. III, 165. [See **lere**.]
lesse, *n.*, falsehood : Ch. I, 240, II, 418.
lesse, *v.*, decrease : Ch. II, 155; **leste**, *ppl.* : Ch. II, 148.
let, *v.*, cease, desist : T. I, 223, III, 226.
lete, see **lett**.
letherly, *adv.*, badly : T. IV, 171. [See **ledyr**.]
lett, *v.*, hinder, prevent : T. IV, 263; **lete**, C. II, 150; **lett**, *ppl.* : Ch. II, 314.
leved, see **leeve**.
leuer, *adv.*, rather : T. III, 193, IV, 486; **levyr**, *passim*.
levers, *n.*, believers : C. I, 270.
leueryng, *n.*, pudding made of liver rolled up in the form of sausage : T. III, 217.
levyn, *n.*, flash of lightning : T. IV, 650; the star : C. V, 3.
levyng, *n.*, living : Y. IV, 129.
levyr, see **leuer**.
lewde, *adj.*, ignorant : T. IV, 707.
lewdenes, *n.*, ignorance : C. IV, 264.
lewtye, *n.*, loyalty : Ch. I, 344, 700.
ley, *adj.*, fallow, unploughed : T. IV, 111.
leyfe, *n.*, leaf : T. IV, 358.
leyfe, *adj.*, see **lefe**.
leyke, *v.*, hurry : C. V, 63. [OE. *lācan*.]
leyle, see **lele**.
leyn, *v.*, lend, grant : T. I, 371, IV, 217. [Compare **lende**.]
likes, *v.*, pleases : Ch. I, 248; **lyked** : Ch. II, 419; **lykys** : T. III, 106.
likinge, *n.*, pleasure : Ch. I, 68, 232, 410, 414; **likyng** : Y. I, 42; *adj.*, pleasing : Ch. II, 157.
lille, *v.*, blow : Ch. II, 155. [Unique form; '*lilts*, holes of a wind instrument of musick.' Herd *Coll. Songs*. 1776.]
liste, *v.*, it pleased : Y. I, 34; wish : Y. II, 220; **lyst** : C. I, 111.
lither, see **lyther**.
liveraste, *n.*, apparently a meaningless word, coined to go with liverye. Ch. II, 203.
liverye, *n.*, food, provisions : Ch. II, 106, 126, 157, 202, 232, 281.
loden, *n.*, laud, song : Ch. II, 418. [See note.]
logge, *v.*, lodge : C. IV, 78; **loggyd**, *ppl.* : C. IV, 98. *n.*, lodging : C. IV, 93, 159, 161.
long of, because of : T. I, 300.
longes, *n.*, lungs : Ch. II, 203.
longeth, *v.*, pertains to : Ch. II, 82; **longys** : T. III, 111.
longys, see **longeth**.
lonys, *n.*, loins : T. III, 230.
lorn, *ppl.*, lost : *passim*. Cf. **for-lorn**.
lote, *n.*, noise : T. IV, 409.
loten, *adj.*, looking : T. IV, 102.
love day, *n.*, day appointed for settling disputes : C. I, 185. [Translation of Lat. *dies amoris*.]
louyng, *n.*, praise : T. III, 296. [OE. *lofian*, to praise.]

lowd, *n.*, noise: Ch. II, 164.
lowde, *adv.*, openly: T. IV, 549.
lowse, *v.*, loose: T. I, 369.
lowt(e), *v.*, bow, pay reverence: Ch. I, 618; T. I, 79.
loyn, *ppl.*, lain: C. I, 8.
lugginge, *n.*, pulling, worrying (as a dog with a bone): Ch. II, 201.
lullay, *n.*, lullaby: T. IV, 442, 445.
lust, *n.*, wish, desire: C. IV, 109; [same sense as Ger. *Lust*.]
lusts, *v.*, wishes, desires: Ch. II, 244.
lycens, *n.*, permission: C. III, 154.
lyg, lyggyst, lygen &c., lie, liest, lain &c.
lyght, *ppl.*, delivered: T. IV, 337.
lyked, lykys, see **likes**.
lymes, *n.*, limbs: Ch. II, 454;
lymme: Ch. II, 245.
lynde, *n.*, lime tree: T. I, 368.
lyther, *adj.*, rascally, bad: Ch. II, 265 (possibly = *ly ther*);
lither: Ch. II, 280.
lythly, *adv.*, meekly, humbly: C. IV, 80.
ma, *v.*, make: Y. I, 237. (Cf. Y. III, 123.)
maddes, *v.*, growest mad: Y. IV, 38.
mageste, *n.*, majesty: C. I, 8, 39, IV, 177.
make, *n.*, mate, wife: C. II, 182; T. I, 234. [OE. *gemæc*, equal, *gemaca*, fellow, mate.]
makinge, *n.*, activity, power of doing: Ch. II, 299.
males, *n.*, evils: C. I, 45.
manere, *n.*, manor: Ch. I, 404.
maners, *n.*, manners, in the sense of nature: T. I, 210.
mangere, *n.*, eating place: T. III, 201.
mangyng, *n.*, eating: T. III, 232.
maroo, *n.*, fellow, companion: T. IV, 436. [Related to ON. *margr*, friendly.]
mars, *n.*, marshes: T. III, 93. [OE. *mere*, ME. *mar*, Mod. Eng. *mere*.]

mase, *v.*, makes: Ch. I, 583; Y. II, 190; **mays**: T. IV, 39.
mastry, *n.*, tyranny: T. IV, 39.
maw, *n.*, belly: T. IV, 110.
may, *v.*, can, have power: Y. II, 237; T. IV, 684.
may, *n.*, maid: C. & T. *passim*;
maye: Ch. & Y. *passim*.
mayll, *n.*, bag: T. III, 224.
mayll, *adj.*, ill, bad: **mayll easse**, distress: T. IV, 485. [OE. *malaise*.]
mayn, *n.*, might, strength, "might and main": T. I, 277; **mayne**: Ch. I, 39; Y. III, 107, 128. [OE. *mægen*, power.]
mays, see **mase**.
meche, *adj.*, much: C. I, 28, IV, 34.
mede, *n.*, reward: C. III, 18, IV, 272; T. IV, 668; merit, excellence: T. I, 86, III, 467.
medele, *v.*, mingle, mix, join: C. V, 57; **medled**, *ppl.*: Ch. II, 24.
medyll, *n.*, middle portion: T. IV, 599; belly: T. IV, 534.
mekill, *adj. & adv.*, many, much, great: Y. I, 161, III, 10, IV, 25; T. IV, 382; **mekyll**: T. II, 59, III, 3, 20, 56, IV, 65, 94.
melle, *v.*, say, speak: C. V, 125.
memoriall, *adj.*, remembered: Ch. II, 647.
mend(e), *v.*, amend, improve: Ch. I, 558; Y. I, 18, 94, II, 232; T. I, 326; **mendys**: T. IV, 290, 504.
increase: T. IV, 388.
mende, *n.*, mind: C. II, 175; memory: C. I, 7.
mending, *n.*, improvement: T. III, 78.
mendys, *n.*, amends: T. IV, 567.
mene, *v.*, think, consider: Y. I, 1, II, 1, 211; T. III, 370, IV, 635; **meyne**: T. IV, 711.
menee, *n.*, suite, retinue: T. III, 401; **meneye**, crowd: T. IV, 346.
mener, *adj.*, mean, humble: T. IV, 691.
meneye, see **menee**.

mengis, *v.*, disturbs: Y. IV, 4.
[OE. *mengan*.]
mennes, *v.*, means: Y. I, 71.
menske, *v.*, reverence, honour: Y. III, 107. [ON. *menska*, humanity, so in Eng., humanity, kindness, courtesy, honour.]
merknes, *n.*, darkness, Y. III, 63. [ON. *myrkr*, OE. *mirce*.]
merr, *v.*, purify: Y. I, 39.
merys, *v.*, is merry, smiles: T. IV, 714.
methe, *n.*, moderation, gentleness: C. V, 46.
mett, *adj.*, measured: T. III, 484.
meve, **mevinge**, **mevyd**, &c., move, moving, moved &c.: Y. IV, 4; C. I, 43; &c.
meyne, *v.*, see **mene**.
meyne, *n.*, the middle of three harmonised parts in music: T. IV, 188.
mo(e), *adj.*, more: Ch., C., T. *passim*.
moght, *v.*, see **mot**.
molde, *n.*, earth: Y. I, 62; **mould**: Ch. I, 197.
mon(e), *v.*, must: Ch. I, 12, II, 170; Y. I, 61, II, 50, 54, IV, 55; T. III, 496.
mone, *n.*, moon: C. IV, 163; T. III, 434, IV, 662; **moyn**: T. IV, 190, 278.
moneth, *n.*, month: Ch. I, 37; Y. I, 183; T. I, 138, IV, 234; **monethes**: Ch. I, 129; T. I, 281; **monyth**: C. I, 255; **monethis**, **monethys**: C. III, 73, 132.
monyth, see **moneth**.
mop, *n.*, baby: T. III, 467, IV, 724.
moren, *n.*, morning: T. III, 39.
most, *v.*, must: Ch. I, 520.
mot, *v.*, may: C. III, 7; C. V, 82; Y. I, 148, II, 167, &c.; **mote**: *passim* Ch. & C.; **mut**: C. IV, 85, V, 137; **moght**, **might**: Y. I, 214.
mould, see **molde**.
mow, *v.*, may: C. I, 64, III, 137, 161. (*pr. indic. plur. of may*.)

moyn, see **mone**.

mullynge, *n.*, an epithet applied to the Christ-child, denoting sweetness, derived from mulled wine, a sweetened drink: C. V, 136.

mut, see **mot**.

muted, *v.*, unique word, perhaps coined from Lat. *muto*, to change, as in the phrase "to ring the changes," but probably it is shepherds' slang: Ch. II, 420.

mutinge, *n.*, Ch. II, 360, see **muted**.

mych, *adj.*, much: Ch. I, 87, **myche**: Ch. I, 380.

myin, *pron.*, mine: T. I, 160.

myke, *adj.*, meek: Ch. I, 98.

myn, *adv.*, less: T. III, 172.

myn, *v.*, remember: T. I, 8, IV, 675, 745; **myne**: Ch. I, 363.

myrke, *adj.*, dark: Y. III, 41. [Cf. **merknes**.]

mys, *n.*, sin, misdeed: Y. II, 132; T. I, 370, III, 396; **mysse**: Ch. II, 679; Y. I, 2, II, 157, 232.

myster, *v.*, need: T. III, 231. [OF. *mestier*, Lat. *ministerium*.]

mytyng, *n.*, mite, little fellow: T. III, 477.

namely, *adv.*, especially: C. I, 319, III, 16; Y. III, 74; T. IV, 369.

naroo, *adv.*, narrowly: T. IV, 437.

nately, *adv.*, to some purpose, thoroughly: T. IV, 158. [ON. *neytr*, usefull.]

naugere, *n.*, auger: Ch. I, 401. [OE. *nafu-gār*, nave (of a wheel) + *gār*, piercer. Initial *n*- has been lost in Mod. Eng. through confusion of a *nauger* and an *auger*. Cf. **edder**.]

nave, *n.*, knave, (q. v.): Ch. II, 211.

nawre, *adv.*, no where: T. IV, 367.

naye, *n.*, denial: Ch. I, 261.

nece, *n.*, any female relative, here cousin: Ch. I, 49, 117; **nese**: T. II, 23.

neemly, *adv.*, nimbly: T. IV, 271.

negh, *v.*, to approach: T. IV, 530.

neme, *v.*, name, mention: Y. II, 170.

nerehand, *adv.*, almost: T. III, 31, IV, 2; **nerehandys**: T. IV, 11.

neres *n.*, ears: Y. I, 214.

nese, see **nece**.

nese, see **noyse**.

nesh, *adj.*, soft: T. IV, 545. [OE. *hnesce*.]

neven, *v.*, name, call: Y. I, 13, 64, II, 263; T. *passim*; **neuyns**: T. I, 191.

neuyns, see **neven**.

never the **more**, *adv.*, never: C. I, 108. [Used for rime, confused with *nevertheless*.]

new, *v.*, renew, restore: Ch. I, 518.

neyn, nine: T. I, 281.

nonys, for the **nonys**, expressly: T. IV, 527. [OE. *for pan ānes*, wrongly divided, becoming *for þe nanes*. Cf. the shifting of *-n-* in **naugere**, and **edder**.]

nores, *n.*, nurse: T. IV, 496.

note, *n.*, use, profit: T. IV, 303. occupation: T. IV, 411. [OE. *notu*, ON. *not*; cf. Ger. *geniessen*, to enjoy.]

noht, *adv.*, not: C. II, 2; **nozt**: Y. *passim*.

noye, *n.*, trouble: Ch. I, 519.

noyn(e), *n.*, noon: T. IV, 54, 79, 279.

noyse, *n.*, nose: T. IV, 612; **nese**: T. IV, 488.

noytys, *n.*, notes: T. III, 306.

nozt, see **noht**.

nydy, *adj.*, needy: Ch. I, 99.

nyll, *v.*, will not: T. III, 198.

nyn, *conj.*, nor: C. III, 66.

nyp, *v.*, reduce by taking away small bits: T. IV, 161, 289. catch, take: T. IV, 437.

o, one: C. I, 155, 295, IV, 81;

oo: C. III, 1; **on**: Ch. & C. *passim*; **oone**: T. *passim*.

oblissh, *v.*, oblige, put under obligation: Y. III, 146, 151.

of, *adv.*, off: *passim*.

for: C. III, 150b.

off, *prep.*, of: C. I, 290.

of-slogh, *v.*, ? : T. IV, 385.

oght, *n.*, aught: Y. & T. *passim*;

owght: C. IV, 106; **owught** C. III, 4.

omange, *prep.*, among: Y. I, 236.

omell, *prep.*, among: Y. I, 62. [See **emell**.]

on, see **o**.

one, *prep.*, on: Ch. I, 152, II, 581.

ones, *adv.*, once: Y. IV, 27; T. IV, 685; **oones**: T. IV, 36, 103; **onys**: C. *passim*; T. IV, 38.

onest, *adj.*, honorable: C. I, 114.

onethys, *adv.*, hardly, with difficulty: C. IV, 71.

on-lowde, *adj.*, aloud: T. III, 68, 310.

on-lyfe, *adj.*, alive: T. II, 25.

onone, *adv.*, anon: T. IV, 440.

on-sayll, *adj.*, asail: T. III, 258.

onys, see **ones**.

oo, see **o**.

oondis, *v.*, breathes: Y. III, 132. [ON. *anda*, to breathe.]

oone, *adj.*, own: T. I, 89, IV, 46, 441.

oone, see **o**.

oones, see **ones**.

ox, *conj.*, ere: *passim*.

ordan, *v.*, ordain, appoint, decree: *passim*. **ordayned**, ordered:

Ch. I, 612; established: Ch. II, 518.

bring about: Y. I, 70.

give: T. III, 479.

ordeyn, make ready, prepare: C. I, 175.

ordayned, see **ordan**.

ordeyn, see **ordan**.

os, *adv.*, as: T. I, 37.

ostage, *n.*, inn, hostelry: C. IV, 65.

outtshyld, *ppl.*, out-shelled, empty (?): T. II, 71.

ouer-ga, *v.*, run away: Y. II, 66.

ouertwhart, *adv.*, athwart: T. III, 48.

owe, *v.*, own: T. I, 178, 186.

owght, see **oght**.

owtshad, *ppl.*, out-shadowed(?): Ch. II, 269.

owther, either: Y. II, 9, 243.

owught, see **oght**.

pace, *v.*, pass: C. II, 121.

panyere, *n.*, pannier, basket: T. III, 281.

parfyte, *adj.*, perfect: C. I, 292, 296, III, 71.

partryk, *n.*, patridge: T. III, 234.

pas, *n.*, occurrence: C. V, 23.

pase, *n.*, progress: T. III, 492.

passage, *n.*, progress, pregnancy: C. I, 255; journey, flight: C. I, 325.

pay, *n.*, pleasure, liking: T. III, 73; **paye**: Ch. I, 317, 372.

payd(e), *ppl.*, pleased, satisfied: Ch. I, 44; C. II, 197; T. I, 367, IV, 425. [OF. *payer*, Lat. *pacare*, to please, appease.]

paye, see **pay**.

paynt, *adj.*, painted, embroidered: T. IV, 37.

paynt, *v.*, to deceive: T. IV, 210.

payres, *n.*, pears: Ch. II, 637.

penyegrasse, *n.*, navelwort, a medicinal herb: Ch. II, 79.

penyewrytte, *n.*, pennyworth, another name for navelwort: Ch. II, 28.

percer, *n.*, awl: Ch. I, 401.

perfyght, *n.*, perfection: C. II, 132.

perlye, *n.*, pearl: Ch. I, 580.

pestell, *n.*, leg of an animal: T. III, 216.

plight, *ppl.*, pitched (as of a camp): Y. III, 4.

pippe, *v.*, tope, drink to excess: Ch. II, 189. [OF. *pipe* = drunkenness.]

plenyn, *v.*, complain: C. II, 110.

plesone, *n.*, pleasure: C. I, 117.

plete, *v.*, plead: T. III, 204.

pleynge-fere, *n.*, play-fellow: C. I, 313.

plight, *v.*, pledge: Ch. I, 229. [OE. *plihtan*, danger. Ger. *Pflicht*, duty.]

plight, *n.*, see **plyght**.

plyght, *v.*, bend, fold: C. IV, 260.

plyght, *n.*, bad condition: C. IV, 147; **plight**: C. II, 129. sin, offense: T. I, 91.

po, *n.*, peacock: T. IV, 28. [OE. *pāwa*.]

poacke, *n.*, a small bag or sack: Ch. II, 127. [ON. *poki*, bag.]

pointe, *n.*, at **pointe to**, in **poynt for**, in immediate peril of: T. IV, 22, 629.

poll, *v.*, to count, enumerate: T. III, 154.

pose, *n.*, catarrh: T. III, 423.

postee, *n.*, power: Ch. I, 83, 249, 507, 522; **postye**: Ch. I, 675; **pouste**: C. V, 133; **powste**: C. II, 218. [OF. *poesté*, *pousté*.]

potell, see **pottle**.

pottle, *n.*, a two quart measure: Ch. II, 615; **potell**: T. III, 484.

pouste, **powste**, see **postee**.

powderd, *ppl.*, seasoned: T. III, 216.

pres, *n.*, crowd: Y. III, 12; **put in pres**, to crowd: Y. V, 121.

preeve, *v.*, deprive: Ch. I, 522. prove: Ch. I, 249; **preve**: C. IV, 179, 245; **preeved**, *ppl.*: Ch. I, 185, 507; **preved**: Y. IV, 7.

pres, see **pres**.

presande, *n.*, present: Y. IV, 110.

president, *n.*, precedent: Ch. I, 264.

prenate, *n.*, secret: T. I, 125; **privite**, privacy: C. II, 134; Y. II, 198.

preuay, *adj.*, secret: T. I, 168.
preve, **preved**, see **preeve**.
preuely, *adv.*, secretly: Y. I, 150, II, 175; T. IV, 270, 347;
privelye: Ch. I, 143.
pricke, *v.*, fasten with a pin: Y. II, 303.
prise, *n.*, value, worth: C. V, 91; **prys**: C. V, 97.
privilye, see **preuely**.
privite, see **preuate**.
proces, *n.*, action, procedure: C. III, 40.
provyde, *v.*, search out: C. I, 149.
prow, *n.*, advantage: C. II, 89, III, 163.
pryest, *n.*, priest: Ch. I, 227.
prys, see **prise**.
punchement, *n.*, punishment: C. I, 93.
purst, *ppl.*, put away: T. III, 209 [as in a purse?].
purvay, *v.*, provide: Y. I, 122;
purveyd, *ppl.*: C. II, 224.
purveance, *n.*, the right of impressing a subject's property for royal service, or of buying provisions at an appraised value: T. IV, 42.
purveyd, see **purvay**.
purye, *n.*, purée: Ch. II, 128.
pyche, *n.*, wicker basket: Ch. II, 107.
pye, *n.*, magpie: Ch. II, 417.
pyght, *ppl.*, plunged: C. IV, 263.
pyn(e), *n.*, pain, distress: Y. II, 56; C. IV, 220.
pypys, *v.*, pipes: T. IV, 195.
pystyll, *n.*, epistle: T. IV, 100.
quaver, *v.*, quiver: Ch. II, 632.
quelle, *v.*, destroy: C. V, 125;
qwelle: C. II, 97.
quhan, *adv.*, when: C. II, 16.
quod, *v.*, quoth, said: C. I, 25.
qwant, see **qwaynt**.
qwart, *n.*, health: T. II, 7. [ON. **kvert*.]
qwaynt, to make it **qwaynt**, to act disdainfully: T. IV, 208;

qwant, *adj.*, clever: T. IV, 593; strange: T. IV, 647. [OF. *cointe*, Lat. *cognitum*. The development of meaning is obscure, it took place in OF.]
qweasse, *v.*, T. IV, 487, of obscure history and meaning, perhaps related to *queasy*, troubled, unwell.
qwedyr, *v.*, quiver: C. II, 180. [Onomatopoeic word.]
qwelle, see **quelle**.
qwelp, *n.*, whelp: T. III, 425.
qweme, *v.*, gratify, please: C. I, 122.
qwen(e), *n.*, queen: C. I, 333; T. I, 80.
qwere, *adv.*, where: C. I, 149.
qwhy, *adv.*, why: T. IV, 114;
qwy: C. II, 100.
qwy, see **qwhy**.
qwyk, *adj.*, quick: C. I, 207.
rad, *adj.*, frightened: T. IV, 175. [OE. *hrædd-r*.]
raffe, *v.*, rave: Y. II, 146; **rafys**: T. III, 273.
rake, *n.*, course of cattle in grazing: Ch. II, 40.
ramyd, *ppl.*, oppressed: T. IV, 16.
ransake, *v.*, examine thoroughly: C. IV, 251.
rase, on a **rase**, in a hurry, quickly: T. III, 451.
rasyd, *ppl.*, raced, rushed: T. IV, 302.
raw, *n.*, row: T. IV, 109.
rawnson, *v.*, ransom: T. III, 298.
reade, see **rede**.
red(e), *v.*, prepare: Y. I, 124; T. IV, 336.
rede, *v.*, advise: Ch. II, 442; C. V, 89; Y. II, 18, 109, IV, 33; T. IV, 467; **read(e)**: Ch. I, 682, II, 144, 661; **redd**: Ch. I, 113.
rede, *n.*, advice: Y. II, 146, III, 20; T. IV, 623; **reade**: Ch. I, 661.
aid, remedy: T. I, 312.
rede, *adj.*, ready: T. IV, 559.
refe, *v.*, rob, deprive: T. IV, 19.

refuse, *v.*, renounce: Ch. II, 678.
rek, *v.*, care, heed: T. III, 455, IV, 307.
rem, *n.*, realm: C. V, 19.
remeued, *ppl.*, (lit.) removed, (here) interpreted: Y. I, 50.
rent, *n.*, tribute, tax: Ch. I, 270.
reprefe, *v.*, reprove: T. IV, 39.
reprefe, *n.*, reproof, shame: T. IV, 576; **repref**: C. II, 115.
resae, *v.*, receive: T. III, 472.
resorte, *v.*, apply: C. I, 75.
restorete, *n.*, restorative, 'appetizer': T. III, 238.
reuthe, *n.*, sorrow, pity: Y. II, 24; **rewthe**: C. I, 59; T. IV, 418; **rowthe**: C. IV, 267; **ruthe**: Y. II, 36.
rewes, *v.*, grieves: Y. II, 36.
rewthe, see **reuthe**.
reyll, *v.*, set about it: T. IV, 275; reel, go about: T. III, 270.
riall, *adj.*, royal: Y. III, 109.
rode, *n.*, rood, cross: C. V, 45; **roode**: T. IV, 182, 236, 374.
rok, *n.*, distaff: T. IV, 389.
roo, *n.*, peace: Y. III, 19. [OE. *rōw*, Ger. *Ruh*.]
roode, see **rode**.
rott, *n.*, a fatal disease of the liver, to which sheep are liable: Ch. II, 34; T. III, 26.
rowne, *v.*, whisper: T. IV, 263. [OE. *rūn*, whisper; cf. Ger. *raunen*.]
rowthe, see **reuthe**.
roys, *v.*, praise T. III, 234. [ON. *hrōsa*, praise.]
royse, *v.*, boast, bluster: Y. IV, 69. [ME. *roister*, OF. *russtre*, *n.*, a roisterer, ruffian.]
ruthe, see **reuthe**.
ryaltye, *n.*, royalty: Ch. I, 23. [OF. *reialté*.]
rybbe, *n.*, water-cress: Ch. II, 22.
ryfe, *adj.*, abundant: Y. I, 102; *adv.*, commonly: Y. II, 17; T. III, 96.
ryfys, *v.*, falls apart: T. IV, 83.
ryke, *n.*, kingdom: T. III, 92.
ryn, *v.*, run: T. III, 428, IV, 108, 160, 467, 494.

rype, *v.*, search: T. IV, 515.
rust, *v.*, rest: T. IV, 630. (For rime.)
sa, *v.*, say Y. I, 92.
saffyng, *n.*, salvation: Y. III, 102.
sagh, *v.*, saw: T. III, 180, 325, 360.
sagh, *v.*, say: T. IV, 606.
sagh, *n.*, saw, argument T. I, 239; **sawe**: T. III, 163.
sak, *n.*, blame, guilt: Y. I, 195.
sakles, *adj.*, blameless, Y. II, 181, 288.
salue, *n.*, help, remedy: C. V, 11.
sam(e), *adv.*, together: Y. II, 301; T. III, 179, 499, IV, 620; **so sam**: T. I, 305. [OE. *same*, Ger. *zusammen*.]
samyne, same: T. III, 398.
sande, *n.*, message: Y. I, 220, II, 217, 218, 222, 266; **seand**: Y. II, 235; **sonde**: C. II, 24; cf. **sond**, messenger.
sande, *n.*, land: Y. IV, 108.
sandens, *n.*, ambassadors: Ch. I, 226.
sangre, *n.*, song: T. III, 430. [OE. *sang*, ON. *sǫngr*.]
sapyens, *n.*, wisdom: C. I, 175.
saule, *n.*, soul: Y. I, 237; **saul**: T. II, 49, III, 260; **sawle**: Y. III, 50; **saules**: T. III, 283; **sawlys**: T. III, 77.
saunce, *prep.*, without: T. III, 112.
savour, *v.*, taste: T. IV, 98.
savverraye, *n.*, savoury, a highly seasoned dish, still served in England as the last course of a dinner: Ch. II, 204.
sawes, *n.*, words: Y. I, 119, II, 190.
sawle, **sawlys**, see **saule**.
sawsed, *ppl.*, seasoned: T. III, 215.
sawtere, *n.*, psalter: C. III, 170.
saynt, *v.*, show off (?) : T. IV, 209.
schadu, *v.*, shadow, surround: C. I, 250.

schappe, *n.*, shape, form : C. I, 293.

schent, see **shend(e)**.

schep, *n.*, scarcity (?) : C. IV, 107. [OE. *sceþ*, basket for measuring grain, hence the amount measured, hence, perhaps, any small amount.]

se(e), *n.*, throne, seat : Ch. I, 5, 18; C. I, 241, V, 145.

securlye, *adv.*, surely : Ch. II, 480, 665. Cf. **sekyr**, **sicker**, &c.

seeminge, *pr. pl.*, appearing : Ch. II, 312.

seeth, see **syth**.

sege, *n.*, seat, throne : Y. I, 67, 163; III, 59. Cf. **se**.

seke, *adj.*, sick : T. IV, 485.

sekirly, see **sekyr**.

sekyr, *adv.*, surely : C. II, 23, IV, 10; **sekyrly** : C. IV, 35;

sekirly : Y. II, 63. Cf. **se-courelye** and **sicker**.

selcouth(e), *adj.*, strange, unusual : Y. II, 161, III, 94, IV, 47, 53; T. II, 40. [OE. *seld*, rarely + *cūð*, known.]

sely, *adj.*, simple : T. IV, 10, 65; silly : T. IV, 67. Cf. **ceyll**.

[OE. *sælig* = blessed, Ger. *selig*, Mod. Eng. *silly*.]

sentens, *n.*, decisions : C. I, 123.

sere, *adj.*, many, several : Y. III, 32; T. I, 274.

sesyd, *ppl.*, seized, fixed : C. II, 127.

sethe, see **syth**.

seyn(e), *ppl.*, seen : C. III, 15; T. III, 14.

seyth, *n.*, argument, reason : C. I, 103.

shadyr, *v.*, shelter, seek shelter (?) : C. V, 66.

shamfastnes, *n.*, modesty, bashfulness : C. I, 234.

shank, *n.*, leg : T. IV, 565.

shape, *v.*, prepare, make ready for : Ch. II, 100, 102; **shapyn**, *ppl.* : C. V, 17.

shekyls, *n.*, shackles, bonds : T. IV, 72.

shend(e), *v.*, disgrace : Ch. I, 138; **sheynd** : T. IV, 640; **shente**, *ppl.* : Ch. II, 243; **sohent** : C. II, 33.

harm, injure : Ch. II, 261. [OE. *scendan*.]

shene, *n.*, splendor, brightness : C. V, 15.

sheweth, *v.*, appeareth : Ch. I, 327; **shewyght** : C. V, 25.

shewinge, *adj.*, apparent : Ch. I, 336.

shewyght, see **sheweth**.

sheynd, see **shende**.

shilde, *v.*, shield, protect : Ch. II, 3.

shone, *n.*, shoes : T. IV, 62.

shrew, *v.*, curse : T. III, 251, 253, 276, IV, 299.

shrew, *n.*, a wicked, or malignant person, generally a woman : T. IV, 151, 210, 221, 453; **shrewe** : Ch. II, 66, 154, 243; **shrewys** : T. IV, 138.

shrewde, *adj.*, evil, accursed : Ch. II, 13. [Ppl. of **shrew**, *q. v.*]

shrogys, *n.*, shrubs, thicket : T. IV, 455. [Gaelic *sgrogag*.]

shyft, *n.*, device, expedient : T. IV, 285.

shyld, see **outtshyld**.

sich, *such* : T. *passim*; cf. **slyke**.

sicker, *adv.*, surely : Ch. I, 312;

sycker : Ch. I, 326, 648;

syrker : Ch. I, 674; **sicker-**

lye : Ch. I, 564, 628, 712;

sycerly : Ch. II, 209. See

se-courelye, **sekyr**.

sithen, *adv.*, afterward : Y. I, 7.

skard, *ppl.*, frightened, scared : T. IV, 289, 648.

skarthis, *n.*, fragments : T. III, 160. [ON. *skard* = a breach.]

skawde, *n.*, scold : T. IV, 596.

skayll, *n.*, a bowl, a cup : T. III, 249.

skelp, *n.*, a blow : T. III, 424. [Gaelic *sgéalp*.]

skorde, see **skore**.

skore, *v.*, scour : C. III, 133;

skorde, *ppl.*, scoured : T. III, 236.

- skyll**, *n.*, reasoning : T. III, 199.
[ON. *skill*, discernment.]
- sla**, *v.*, slay : Y. II, 69; **slawe**,
ppl. : C. V, 37. [OE. *slagen*.]
- slen**, *v.*, slay : C. V, 48. [OE.
slean.]
- sleyt**, *n.*, trick, device : Ch. I,
621; **slyght** : T. IV, 433.
- slike** see **slyke**.
- slokyn**, *ppl.*, slaked, assuaged :
T. IV, 677.
- slyght**, see **sleyt**.
- slyk(e)**, such : Y. I, 99, II, 185,
IV, 102; T. III, 94; **slike** :
Y. *passim*. See **sich** and **swylo**.
- slythys**, *v.*, slides : T. IV, 122.
- snek**, *n.*, latch : T. IV, 306.
- snelle**, *adj.*, active, spirited : C.
II, 141.
- sogh**, *n.*, sow : T. III, 274.
- somkyn(s)**, *adj.*, of some kind :
Y. II, 137; T. IV, 708.
- sond**, *n.*, messenger : T. IV, 202.
Cf. **sande**.
- sonde**, see **sande**.
- sorwe**, *n.*, sorrow : C. *passim*.
- sose**, *n.*, sauce : Ch. II, 204.
- sotchell**, *n.*, bag : Ch. II, 133.
[OF. *sachell*.]
- sothen**, *n.*, boiled, or seethed,
meat : T. III, 224.
- sothren**, *adj.*, southern : T. IV,
215.
- soueranly**, *adv.*, especially : Y.
I, 155.
- sowde**, *v.*, sounded : T. III, 312.
- sowll**, *n.*, sauce, relish : T. III,
152. [OF. *saulse*, Lat. *salsa*.]
- sowsed**, *ppl.*, soaked, pickled :
Ch. II, 121.
- soyne**, *adv.*, soon : T. III, 372,
IV, 50, 478.
- spad**, *ppl.*, sped, prospered :
C. V, 58.
- spar**, *v.*, close, fasten : T. IV,
327. [OE. **sparrian*.]
- spart**, *v.*, spare it (?) : T. III, 271.
- spede**, *n.*, promoter of success :
C. IV, 310.
- spedly**, *adv.*, quickly : C. V, 62.
- spell(e)**, *v.*, to write down : C. V,
53; to speak, tell : T. III, 412.
- spelle**, *n.*, speech : C. II, 221.
- spendyng**, *n.*, ready money :
T. IV, 173, 277.
- spill**, *v.*, injure, destroy : Y. II,
176; **spyll** : T. I, 129, 200;
spyllys : T. IV, 540; **spylt** :
T. I, 21.
- spirre**, *v.*, ask : Y. III, 82; **spyr** :
T. II, 21.
- spryt**, *n.*, spirit : C. II, 135.
- spurne**, *v.*, kick, stumble : T. IV,
144.
- spyll**, **spyllys**, **spylt**, see **spill**.
- spyr**, see **spirre**.
- spytus**, *adj.*, spiteful : T. IV, 57.
- stadde**, *ppl.*, placed, put : Y. IV,
88; **stedde** : Y. III, 22.
- sted** : beset, put in a hard
place : Y. II, 37; T. IV, 74.
- stalk**, *v.*, walk cautiously, creep
upon : T. IV, 48, 270, 347.
- starkly**, *adv.*, boldly : C. III,
22.
- starne**, **sterne**, star : C. Y. & T.
passim.
- state**, *n.*, position, condition :
Ch. II, 539; T. IV, 152.
- sted**, **stedde**, see **stadde**.
- stede**, *n.*, place : Y. II, 16, 150;
T. II, 68, IV, 470, 487, 620.
- steepe**, *v.*, to imbrue, impreg-
nate : Ch. II, 215.
- sterne**, see **starne**.
- steryd**, *ppl.*, stirred, moved :
C. II, 19; **styrth** (*pr. ind.*) :
C. IV, 96.
- steven(e)**, *n.*, an utterance, song,
speech, prophecy, &c. : C. V,
7; Y. I, 15, 118, II, 260; T. III,
409; **stevyn** : T. II, 38, IV,
647. [OE. *stefn*.]
- stott**, *n.*, a steer : T. IV, 518.
- strase**, *n.*, straws : Y. II, 13.
- strate**, *n.*, strait, difficulty : T.
IV, 311.
- straytely**, *adv.*, rigorously, se-
verely : Y. II, 37.
- streyte**, *n.*, any narrow path
or way : Ch. II, 671.
- streyte**, *adv.*, straightway : C.
IV, 158; **stright** : T. IV, 434.
- stright**, see **streyte**.

- stroake**, *v.*, struck : Ch. II, 317.
sturdely, *adv.*, fixedly, steadily ; Y. IV, 50.
stye, *n.*, a narrow path : Ch. II, 671.
style, *adv.*, forever : C. I, 102 ; continuously : C. III, 173, 180.
styly, *adv.*, quietly : T. I, 324.
styrth, see **steryd**.
sufferan, *n.*, sovereign : T. IV, 719 ; **sufferayne** : Y. III, 46.
sugett, *n.*, subject : Y. III, 64.
suppose, *v.*, suspect : T. IV, 223, 428.
suspowse, *n.*, suspicion : T. IV, 514.
swa, *adv.*, so : Y. *passim*.
swane, *n.*, fellow, squire : T. IV, 28 ; **swayne** : Y. IV, 128.
swelt, *v.*, faint, swoon : T. IV, 525. [OE. *sweltan*, to die of heat.]
sweme, *n.*, sorrow : C. I, 127.
swemyth, *v.*, grieves : C. IV, 97.
swevyn, *n.*, dream : T. IV, 384.
swilke, *such* : Y. *passim*.
swych, *such* : C. *passim*.
swynke, *v.*, work : T. IV, 312 ; **swynkys** : T. IV, 154.
sybbe, *adj.*, related : Ch. II, 555.
syckerly, see **sicker**.
syn, *since* : C. *passim*.
syt, *v.*, it is proper : C. I, 113.
syth, **sythen**, *since* : Ch., C., & T. *passim*, also **seeth**, **sythe**, &c. [OE. *siddan*, ME. *sithen*, become by contraction both *sith* and *since*.]
ta, *v.*, take, betake : Y. I, 233, II, 65 ; **tane**, *ppl.*, Y. II, 259 ; T. I, 172, 238, IV, 320.
tabernakyl, *n.*, receptacle for the Eucharist, hence figuratively, Mary, who is to receive the body and blood of the Lord : C. III, 138.
tache, *n.*, spot, blemish, hence characteristic, habit : Ch. II, 285.
talgh, *n.*, tallow : Ch. II, 36, 38. [ON. *tǫlg*, Ger. *talg*.]
tame, *v.*, open, broach : Ch. II, 144.
tamed, *ppl.*, subdued, dilated : Ch. II, 78.
tamed, *p. indic.*, sang softly : Ch. II, 432.
tane, see **ta**.
tarboll, *n.*, bowl for tar : Ch. II, 175.
tarboyte, *n.*, box for tar, carried by shepherds for anointing sheeps' sores : Ch. II, 175.
tareinge, *n.*, tarrying : Ch. I, 612 ; **tariand**, *pr. pl.* : T. IV, 110.
tariand, see **tareinge**.
tast, *v.*, touch, test by touching : C. IV, 224. [OF. *taster*, Lat. *taxare*, from *tangere*, to touch. Cf. *tangent*, *tax*, *task*.]
tayles, *adj.*, tailless : Ch. I, 232.
taytfull, *adj.*, lively, active : Ch. II, 11. [ON. *teitr*, cheerful.]
teale, *v.*, wheedle, cajole : Ch. II, 399. [Scotch.]
teene, *n.*, grief, trouble, harm : Ch. I, 530 ; T. III, 20 ; **teyn** : T. IV, 713.
tempte, *v.*, test, try : Ch. I, 548 ; C. IV, 261.
tene, *v.*, trouble, be troubled : T. IV, 636 ; **teyn** : T. IV, 218.
tenory, *n.*, tenor : T. IV, 186. [It. *tenore*.]
tent, *n.*, heed, notice : Ch. II, 198 ; C. II, 49 ; T. III, 334, 406 ; **tentt** : Y. I, 26.
tenys, *n.*, tennis : T. IV, 736.
teyn, see **teene** and **tene**.
þa, *pron.* those : Y. II, 82.
tharmes, *n.*, bellies (i. e. children to feed.) : T. IV, 391.
tharnys, *v.*, lacks, needs : T. IV, 191.
the, *v.*, thrive, prosper : C. III, 7, V, 82 ; T. IV, 463.
theder, *adv.*, thither : T. IV, 467, 670 ; **thedyr** : C. IV, 156 ; **thyder** : Ch. I, 262.
ther, *adv.*, when : C. IV, 134 ; where : C. IV, 279 ; Y. IV, 87 ; that : Y. II, 69.

bergatis, *adv.*, in this way: Y. I, 48; **thusgates**: Y. I, 212, II, 11, III, 93.

thertill, *adv.*, thereto: T. I, 241; **thertyll**: Ch. I, 200; **here-till**: Y. II, 113.

þir, *pron.*, these: Y. I, 53.

tho, *pron.*, them, those: Ch. I, 589; C. II, 186, III, 151; T. II, 62. Cf. **þa**.

þofall, *conj.*, although: Y. IV, 101, 121.

thole, *v.*, permit, allow: T. IV, 306.

thoner-flone, *n.*, thunder-dart, lightning: T. III, 324. [OE. *ðunor*, thunder + *flān*, dart.]

thoo, *adv.*, then: Ch. I, 719.

thoro, **thorow**, see **thurgh**.

thrall, *adj.*, bound: Ch. I, 275.

thrawe, *v.*, throw: T. III, 164.

threpe, *v.*, complain: T. IV, 168.

throwe, *n.*, while, space of time: Ch. II, 20. [OE. *thrāgh*.]

throwys, *n.*, throes, agony: C. IV, 130.

thurgh, *adv.*, through: Y. I, 192, 194, 226, II, 61, 129, III, 9, 61; **thoro**: C. I, 335; **thorwe**: C. I, 205, 263, II, 219, IV, 296, V, 13, 45; **thurwe**: C. V, 4; **thorow**: T. IV, 448.

thursse, *n.*, spectre, apparition: Ch. II, 37. [OE. *ðyrs*.]

thurwe, see **thurgh**.

þusgate, see **þergatis**.

thwang, *v.*, to whip, to be whipped: T. IV, 211.

thyder, see **theder**.

tight, *ppl.*, am charged, intend (?): Ch. I, 378, II, 235. [OE. *tihtan*, to accuse, charge. Or perhaps related to *dight*, Ger. *dichten*, to think, intend.]

till(e), *prep.*, to: Y. II, 151, 184, 264, 304, IV, 71; **tyll**: T. I, 101, II, 62, IV, 279, &c.

Tille-thekers, *n.*, tile-thatchers: Y. III, heading.

to, *conj.*, until: T. I, 6, 230, 280, IV, 108, 279, 280, 333, 468.

tobreke, *v.*, break through: C. V, 56.

todir, *adj.*, other: Y. II, 51.

tokeninge, *n.*, sign, signification: Ch. I, 441, 605, &c.;

tokenyng: C. & Y. *passim*.

tokyn, *n.*, sign: C. I, 206, II, 102, V, 51; T. III, 160, IV, 611, 696.

tome, *adj.*, empty: T. IV, 547.

toome, *n.*, leisure: Ch. I, 69.

toryff, *v.*, fall to pieces: Y. II, 153.

toyne, *n.*, tune: T. IV, 477.

trane, *n.*, treason, treachery: T. I, 330. [OF. *train*, ambush.]

tre(e), *n.*, wood: Ch. I, 328; the cross: Ch. II, 226; C. V, 35.

trete, *v.*, confer: T. III, 203.

trow(e), *v.*, believe: C., Y., T. *passim*.

trussed, *ppl.*, packed in a bundle: Ch. II, 529.

trye, *v.*, test: C. IV, 251.

tryne, *v.*, to step, go: Y. II, 13.

tugginge, *n.*, pulling, gnawing: Ch. II, 199.

tupp, *n.*, ram, he-goat: Ch. I, 282; **tuppess**: Ch. II, 11, 399.

turtyl, *n.*, turtle-dove: C. I, 311.

twey, two: C. I, 64; **tweyn**: C. I, 144, 181, &c.; **tweyners**, twains: C. III, 39.

twynne, *v.*, part, depart: Ch. II, 535; **in twynne**, apart: Ch. II, 537.

tyde, *n.*, time: T. I, 248, III, 431, IV, 77.

tyke, *n.*, cur; hence, knave, scoundrel: Ch. II, 265.

tyldes, *n.*, (*lit.*) tents, (*fig.*) shelter: Ch. II, 6. [ON. *tjald*, OE. *teld*.]

tyll, see **till**.

tylthe, *n.*, tithe: T. IV, 13.

tymbrewryght, *n.*, timberwright, carpenter: C. IV, 6.

tyn, *adj.*, tiny: T. III, 467;

tyné: T. IV, 724.

tynde, see **tyne**.

tyné, see **tyn**.

tyne, *v.*, lose: Y. II, 58; T. I, 196, III, 200; **tynde**, lost: T. III, 39.

destroy: T. I, 16.

tyne, *n.*, anger, vexation: Y. I, 26.

tyte, *adv.*, quickly: T. III, 149, IV, 627; **tytter**, sooner: T. III, 152.

tythandis, *n.*, tidings: Y. II, 161, IV, 72; **tythyng**: T. IV, 199.

tythyng, see **tythandis**.

tytter, see **tyte**.

vmshade, *v.*, shadow round about: T. I, 128.

unbrace, *v.*, unbrace, undress: Ch. II, 437.

vnceyll, *n.*, misery: T. III, 3, 187. [See **ceyll**.]

undryd, hundred: C. I, 1.

vnfyld, *adj.*, pure, undefiled: T. III, 371; **vnfylyd**: T. III, 366.

vngrathely, *adv.*, carelessly: wickedly: T. I, 341.

unhappie, *adj.*, unfortunate, evil: Ch. II, 293.

unkende, see **unkynde**.

unknowlage, *n.*, ignorance: C. II, 130.

unkynde, *adj.*, unnatural: C. I, 59; **unkyndlie**, Ch. I, 339; **unkende**: C. I, 67.

vnlykely, *adj.*, unsuitable: T. I, 266.

vnmyghtfull, *adj.*, impossible: T. I, 141.

vnquart, *v.*, harass, render unsafe: T. II, 72. [ON. **kvert*, well.]

vnryde, *adj.*, enormous, cruel: T. III, 11.

unsought, *adj.*, unexpected: Y. II, 44.

untill, *prep.*, to: Y. I, 81.

untrost, *n.*, unbelief: C. IV, 256.

unwelde, *adj.*, weak, impotent: Y. II, 6, III, 74; T. I, 171.

unyte, *n.*, unity: C. I, 135, 184, 205.

vse, *v.*, are accustomed: T. I, 228; **usid**: T. I, 306.

practice: T. I, 277.

velany, *n.*, unbecoming conduct, wickedness: C. II, 103, 114; T. I, 224.

vengeabyl, *adj.*, revengeful: C. I, 105, II, 99.

venjauns, *n.*, vengeance: C. III, 162.

verament, *adv.*, verily, truly: Ch. I, 310, 639; C. I, 264.

verey, *adj.*, true: Ch. I, 336, 474, 702, 703; **verray**: Y. I, 219.

veryose, *n.*, verjuice: T. III, 236.

voydnes, *n.*, emptiness: C. III, 109.

wa, *adv.*, way, away: T. I, 326.

waffe, *v.*, wave, fluctuate: Y. I, 54.

wald(e), *v.*, would: *passim*.

walter, *v.*, fall, tumble: Ch. II, 257; **walteryng**: T. IV, 236. [OE. *wealtan*, to roll. Cf. *waltz*, *welter*, &c.]

wan, *adj.*, black, evil: Y. II, 164. [OE. *wann*, dark, lurid.]

wane, *n.*, wagon: T. III, 62, IV, 29.

wanes, *n.*, houses, dwellings: Y. II, 123.

war, *adj.*, worse: T. IV, 247 (IV, 331?).

warloo, *n.*, traitor, monster: T. IV, 640; **warlo**: T. IV, 712. [OE. *wærloga*, a truce breaker.]

warre, *v.*, beware: Ch. II, 247, 257. [OE. *warian*, be on guard.]

warrysoun, *n.*, reward, guerdon: Ch. I, 285. [OE. *guarison*.]

wary, *v.*, curse: T. IV, 19; **waryd**, *ppl.*: T. IV, 712. [OE. *wergian*.]

wast(e), *adj.*, vain, idle: Y. I, 53, 196; T. I, 332.

wate, *v.*, know: Y. *passim*; **watte**: Y. IV, 119. [Northern form of *wot*, 1st. & 3rd. sing. pr. indic. of *wit*. q. v.]

waxes, *v.*, grows: Y. III, 41;

waxen, *ppl.*: Y. II, 95.

wayle, see **weale**.

- wayte**, *v.*, know: T. IV, 75, 226. See **wate**.
- weale**, *n.*, happiness, well-being: Ch. I, 176, 393; **wayle**: Ch. I, 103.
- wedders**, see **weders**.
- wede**, *n.*, garments, clothing: Y. II, 302, III, 67; T. IV, 731; *hence*, appearance: Y. I, 30; (*fig.*) man's body: C. I, 178; **weedess**: Ch. II, 507.
- weders**, *n.*, wethers: T. IV, 57; **wedders**: Ch. II, 4, 200; **wedir**: T. IV, 451.
- wedir**, see **weders**.
- wedmen**, *n.*, husbands: T. IV, 65.
- wedyr**, whether: C. II, 145.
- weedess**, see **wede**.
- weened**, *v.*, see **wene**.
- weete**, *v.*, wet: Ch. II, 143.
- weete**, *v.*, wit, know: Ch. II, 74; **wete**, C. I, 160, III, 156.
- weft** *n.*, woven stuff: T. IV, 587.
- welaway**, *interj.*, alas!; woe!: C. II, 57, 78; **weleaway**; C. IV, 253. [OE. *wā lā wā*, woe, lo, woe!]
- weldand**, *adj.*, mighty, powerful: Y. III, 1, 45; T. I, 143.
- welde**, *v.*, rule, have power: Y. IV, 105. [Cf. **weldand** which is *pr. pl.* of this verb.]
- welfare**, *adj.*, very fair, very pleasant: T. IV, 716.
- wellys**, *n.*, springs: C. I, 25.
- welner**, *adv.*, well nigh; T. IV, 387.
- wem**, *n.*, spot, plemish: T. I, 37.
- wemmostlye**, *adv.*, spotlessly: Ch. I, 629.
- wend**, see **wene**.
- wend(e)**, *v.*, go: *passim*; **weynd(e)**: T. I, 53, 76, 150 &c.
- wendyng**, *n.*, thought, plan: Y. II, 71. Cf. **wene**.
- wene**, *v.*, think: Y. II, 214; T. III, 215; **weyn(e)**: T. III, 215, IV, 129, 695, 712; **weened**: Ch. II, 374; **wend**: Ch. I, 701, II, 222; Y. II, 3; T. I, 5; **wenynd**: T. I, 275.
- wenyand**, *pr. pl.*, waning: T. IV, 405.
- wenynd**, see **wene**.
- wepyn**, *n.*, weapons: T. IV, 615.
- were**, *n.*, penalty: Ch. I, 189; tax: Ch. I, 393; imperfection: Ch. I, 469, 500 (?), 569; doubt: Y. IV, 3. [OE. *wer*, man, then money, payed by the murderer to the relatives of the dead man. The examples in our plays show the later development of meaning.]
- wete**, see **weete**.
- wex**, *v.*, waxed, increased: T. I, 230.
- weye**, *adj.*, weary: C. IV, 59.
- weyl(l)**, *adv.*, well: C. IV, 43, V, 84; T. III, 1, 269 &c.
- weyll**, *n.*, weal, happiness: T. IV, 125.
- weynd(e)**, see **wend**.
- wheder**, *pron.*, which: T. III, 70; **whethir**: Y. II, 53.
- whethir**, see **wheder**.
- whewted**, *v.*, sang: Ch. II, 422. [Onomatopoeitic.]
- whik**, *adj.*, quick, living: T. IV, 548.
- whonde**, *v.*, hide, conceal: C. II, 211.
- whore**, *adv.*, where: T. IV, 402.
- whore**, *adj.*, hoar: Ch. II, 497.
- whyght**, see **wight**.
- whyr**, *interj.*, an order to the sheep: T. III, 117.
- whyt**, see **wight**.
- whyte**, *v.*, requite: T. IV, 294.
- wight**, *n.*, person, man or woman: *passim*; **whyght**: C. III, 62, IV, 267.
- wilsom**, *adj.*, wilful, obstinate: Y. I, 127.
- wisse**, *v.*, guide, direct: Y. I, 196, II, 231, III, 29.
show: Y. II, 239, III, 28; **wysse**: C. IV, 309.
- wist**, **wyst**, *v.*, know: *passim*. [Spurious word, improperly used for *pret.* of *witt*.]
- witt**, **wytt**, *v.*, know: *passim*.

witt, wytt, *n.*, knowledge, wisdom, mind: Ch. I, 349; Y. I, 105; T. III, 38, 143, 145; **wyt-tys**: T. III, 171, 173.

witterlye, *adv.*, surely: Ch. I, 360, 578, 617, 664.

witty, *adj.*, wise: Y. IV, 18.

wod, *n.*, world (?): T. IV, 650.

wold, *n.*, power: T. I, 145.

won, *v.*, dwell, live: T. I, 5, 337; **wonyn**: C. V, 105;

wonyght: C. V, 9; **wonne**: T. I, 67, 166, III, 60.

wond, *v.*, expected, believed: C. I, 307.

wonder, *adj.*, wonderful: T. I, 216, III, 143; **wondyr**: C. V, 78; **woundyr**: C. IV, 100;

wonders: Ch. I, 419. II, 162, 397.

adv., wonderfully: T. III, 306.

wone, *n.*, place: Y. III, 7;

wonys (*plur.*): T. IV, 526.

wonges, *n.*, cheeks: Y. II, 41.

wonne, see **won**.

wonyght, see **won**.

wonyn, see **won**.

wood, *adj.*, mad, crazy: T. III, 134, IV, 373.

worthe, *v.*, to become: Y. II, 97.

wot, wote, wott, wotte, *v.*, know: *passim*. (*1st. sing. pr. ind. of wit.*)

would, *n.*, an open tract of country: Ch. II, 286, 294;

wouldes: Ch. II, 1.

woundyr, see **wonder**.

wragers, *n.*, wranglers: T. III, 58.

wrangwysly, *adv.*, wrongfully: T. I, 22, 354.

wreakinge, *n.*, recking: Ch. II, 374.

wreyes, *v.*, betrays: Y. II, 165.
wrokyn, *pl.*, avenged: T. IV, 614.

wryers, *n.*, twisters, perverters: T. III, 58.

wysh, *v.*, show: T. I, 124. See **wisse**.

wysse, wyst, wyt, &c., see **wisse, wist**, &c.

wyte, *v.*, credit, believe: C. II, 200.

wyte, *adj.*, white: C. IV, 304.

wythe, see **wight**.

za, zha, yea, indeed: C. & Y.
zaff, see **zeve**.

yare, *adj.*, ready, prepared: T. IV, 704.

yede, see **yode**.

yeld(e), *v.*, yield, grant: Ch. II, 681; T. II, 29; **zeld(e)**: C. III, 155, IV, 85.

yelp, *v.*, boast, brag: T. III, 422. [OE. *gilpan*.]

yenge, *adj.*, young: Y. I, 38, 215; **zenge**: C. & Y. *passim*;

zing: Y. III, 96; **ying**: T. I, 242, 340.

zer, *n.*, year: C. III, 170, 171, &c.

yerdys, *n.*, staves, wands: T. I, 248.

zeve, *v.*, give: C. II, 77, V, 146; **zaff**: C. I, 167; **zove**: C. IV, 268.

zf, ziff, if: C. & Y.

ying, zing, see **yenge**.

zove, see **zeve**.

yode, *v.*, went: T. IV, 183, 503, 506; **yede**: T. IV, 367. [OE. *ēode*.]

yoo, *n.*, ewe: Ch. II, 30.

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